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THE LIBERATOR

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons. . . . Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is, to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, and hereby to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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Refuge of Oppression.

From the Spartanburg (S. C.) Spartan.

REV. WM. HENRY BRISBANE, THE TRAITOR.

We have succeeded in unmasking this arch-traitor at last, at least, so far as identifying him as one of Barrett's principal correspondents, and leaving scarcely a doubt that the incendiary publications of 'Brutus' and 'A True Carolinian' are from his pen. It is true, that we believe another of Barrett's correspondents, a recreant Carolinian, has aided and abetted Brisbane in his vile attempt to disturb the peace and harmony of the State. We shall unmask him yet, for though we have no doubt of the man, yet we have not obtained that full proof we desire, as in Brisbane's case. It *will* be obtained, and he shall soon look through our moral pillory.

We pledge our honor, founded on the most satisfactory proof, that Wm. Henry Brisbane was the writer to Barrett of the letter which is entirely in enigma, and as published by us; also of the prospectus of the pretended Gazetteer; also of a letter to the Hon. H. C. Young of Laurens, and also of the letter signed B. H. W., partly in enigma, and partly in the usual style. It is in this letter he speaks of getting Charlotte off to Philadelphia, directs that she shall remain close until he reaches there, and should she get to Philadelphia without Barrett's assistance, then Barrett is to write her a letter in cypher, the very words of which are furnished by Brisbane.

It could hardly be a white woman to whom Brisbane refers, for in that care, such precautions would be wholly unnecessary. It could hardly be a free negro, for such are at liberty to leave the State at their own pleasure. It could hardly be a slave *owned* by Brisbane, for in such case the *ownership* would authorize him to send her to Philadelphia at his own will and pleasure.

The true history of Brisbane's slaves is this: When he determined on removing to the West, he sold them *all*; some of them he had *inherited*, and some of them he had acquired by *purchase*. After some time, he took the notion to repurchase the *inherited* portion of his slaves, and did so through an agent. These negroes he carried to Ohio. The last account we had of them was, that finding the negroes of infinite trouble to him, and that their condition was much worse than when held as slaves, he took them to Virginia, and re-sold them into slavery. But for this report we do not vouch. It may or may not be true. The slaves purchased with money, and sold for money, he refused to repurchase, and they are now a family of ten, still held in slavery in this State. How far Brisbane's brother abolitionists will approve of his leaving ten of their dearly beloved 'colored brethren' in slavery, where he had sold them, remains to be seen. It will be a dog fight at best, and we have no disposition to join in the affray.

It is not, perhaps, generally known, that Brisbane was in this State, and attempted to preach as late as February, 1848. He was among those who had been his friends, neighbors, relatives, associates and brethren; yet they refused to hear him preach, and were about taking measures to 'deal with' the felon exciter of insurrection, when he fled precipitately from the impending storm.

The man seems to be desperate, and reckless of all early ties, whether of blood, friendship, or patriotism, and under the hypocritical pretence of conscientious impulse, stands ready to destroy, with a demon's vengeance, all that he once loved and honored. Shame upon such heartless villany. The fellow must love mischief for its own sake; he prefers infamous notoriety to the highly respectable position he once held among *gentlemen*.

The Washington National Era says, Brisbane published and circulated a tract similar to 'Brutus' and the 'Native Carolinian,' some years since, and seems to intimate that our people took it quietly. This is not so; it was then denounced by the Press, and in the Legislature of the State. The paper referred to is, doubtless, one signed 'Aristides,' a copy of which is in our possession. We said, when 'Brutus' and the 'Native Carolinian' first reached us, that the writer was undoubtedly the same as 'Aristides,' and so recorded our opinion in the Spartan. If Brisbane avows the authorship of 'Aristides,' as the Era seems to indicate, then no reasonable doubt remains as to the authorship of the other two.

This man Brisbane reminds us of the skunk more than any animal we know of; he is too cowardly to take the responsibility of a Christian gentleman, and avow his own acts, although such avowal might relieve his friends from the difficulties and dangers he has drawn them into. In secrecy and darkness he throws out, skunk-like, his baleful effluvia, until the stock for the time becomes exhausted, then flies from danger until he can recruit his stock.

We would invite him to come and preach in Spartanburg, if we thought he would accept the invitation. If he will, we promise him him the largest audience ever assembled in the district, and that he shall be heard any reasonable length of time. We shall only insist on his wearing the surplice our Committee of Vigilance will prepare for him.

To our friends who have kindly aided us, in this and other matters, we return our most grateful thanks. A letter of Brisbane's, dated April 15th, 1848, was very opportune, and removed all doubts. Still, our evidence is stronger than comparison of hands. One who knows Brisbane's hand-writing perfectly well, has examined the letters to Barrett, and pronounces them that of the traitor's beyond all doubt.

From the same.

The Committee who were instructed to prepare an address to the people of the District, beg leave to submit the following through their Chairman:—

TO THE PEOPLE OF SPARTANBURG DISTRICT.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Being appointed a Committee of Vigilance and Safety for Spartanburg District, we deem it necessary to lay before you the causes which made it necessary to constitute such a Committee, and the course we shall pursue to carry out the objects for which we are appointed.

You will all remember, that a few years since, a set of fanatics at the North, contemptible in number, with no political power, commenced a crusade against our rights and institutions, under the name of abolitionists. For a long time the South took no notice of it, and the Northern people treated them as disturbers of the public peace; but a material change has occurred in their prospects in a few years—by assuming a variety of shapes, adopting different names, and uniting with one political party after another, they have gathered strength and power to be heard in Congress. They are like the fabled ass in the lion's hide, covering a portion of the animal, yet leaving exposed some of the distinctive features by which it is well known. From a small rill they have increased to a mighty torrent, threatening to sweep before them all the barriers of the Constitution; take from us our rights and liberties, and degrade us to a social and political equality with our slaves.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate all the movements of this fanatical horde. It is sufficient to state, that after attempting to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, refusing to deliver our fugitive slaves, murdering our citizens when endeavoring to recover their property, and endeavoring to cheat us out of our rights in the territory of New Mexico and California. They have now thrown in our midst their agents and spies, to instigate our slaves to revolt, and disseminate their incendiary writings for the purpose of arraying one portion of our people against another, knowing that as long as we are a united people, their hellish schemes will be frustrated.

Under this state of things, this Committee has been organized; and it has always been the case among civilized nations, when any radical change of their institutions or form of government is *attempted*, to organize such committees as this, (no matter by what name they are called,) *whose powers rose superior to the Law*, and whose duty it was to protect peaceable citizens in their rights and property, and their persons from violence in any form, and from any quarter.

In carrying out these views of what we conceive to be our duty, our object will be to prevent, by all means in our power, the spread of these abolition writings among our people. If harsh means be necessary, 'we will not hesitate to use them,' and any incendiary hereafter caught may expect rough treatment—by this Committee.

We also expect to introduce some plan, whereby slaves will be kept in proper subjection—preventing, so far as in our power lies, the giving or selling of spirituous liquors to them; and exercising that kind of surveilance over them which we think essential to keep them in proper submission, and under reasonable discipline.

We will use all vigilance in detecting and punishing all persons interfering with or corrupting our slaves, or in any way attempting to interfere or endanger the relations which now exist between master and slave. Our intentions are to protect the citizens of this District and of the State from all interference with their rights and institutions.

In carrying out our views of the duties imposed on us, we may in some instances have to rise above the Law, but where the Law will apply the remedy, we will resort to legal proceedings, 'and exercise that sound discretion' which is necessary under our peculiar circumstances.

In carrying out the views of the Committee, we need the co-operation and support of the citizens generally, and hope that all persons will feel called upon to give all the information in their power to aid the Committee in their operations.

W. C. BENNETT, *Chairman.*

BEWARE OF SARTAIN'S UNION MAGAZINE.

We have for some days deferred acknowledging the receipt of the August No. of Sartain's Union Magazine, published in Philadelphia; and we do so now, with feelings very different from those which have hitherto influenced us. We have hitherto spoken of this periodical in terms of commendation, but we now retract all that we have said, and warn our fellow citizens of the *South* against it, as inculcating doctrines untrue and prejudicial in the highest degree to our rights, and even to our safety. It becomes us as prudent men, to view with scrutiny if not with suspicion, the periodical literature with which the North is now flooding us. The number of this Magazine of which we are speaking, contains a tale entitled, 'Roanoke; or, Where is Utopia,' which is continued from a previous number which escaped our observation. The hero of the tale is 'Wild Bill,' a runaway slave who is represented by a hideous cut, and is made ingeniously to justify the many murders he has committed, and to defend principles as foul as the blackest abolition heart ever bred, or the most poisonous tongue could utter. The author of the tale is C. H. Wiley; should either he, or the editors or proprietors of Sartain's Magazine, place foot on the South side of the Potomac, they might reasonably be expected to be dressed in a coat of tar and feathers, and dance 'twixt heaven and earth, with a greased grape vine about their necks. Mrs. C. M. Kirkland is one of the editors; her sex would protect her from such punishment. We would consign her to *silence*, which would be torment enough no doubt. Let the South be wide awake and beware how they contribute their money to aid their enemies in secretly undermining their institutions.—*Fredericksburgh Recorder.*

Selections.

From 'Slavery and the Constitution,' by William I. Bowditch.

THE CONSTITUTION AND ITS INTERPRETATION.

The Constitution is not what it ought to be, not what we wish it to be; not what is consistent with sound morals, but simply what its words meant in 1789,—nothing more, nothing less.

The Constitution of the United States was drawn up by a Convention, of which Washington was President. The people, assembled in their State Conventions, adopted the draft, because it aptly expressed the kind of union they wished to have, because it fully and exactly expressed their meaning. In order, therefore, to ascertain the character of our political union with the slave States, we have only to ascertain the true meaning of the words of the Constitution, or their plain, obvious, and common meaning, at the time the Constitution was adopted. Every writer who wishes to be understood uses his words in their usual signification. Every one supposes that we mean just what our words commonly mean now. When we read Chaucer, or Shakspeare, or Dr. Johnson, we understand him to mean just what his words commonly meant at the time he wrote, unless such meaning is repelled or qualified by the context, in which case we adopt this new or qualified meaning. In like manner, the people of the United States are to be understood to mean, by the words of the Constitution, just what those words commonly meant when the Constitution was adopted, unless such meaning is repelled or qualified by the context; in which case, a regard for truth obliges us to adopt this new or qualified meaning.

This simple, true, and universally practised rule is thus laid down by Judge Story (Comm. on Const. Abr., § 210):

'Every word employed in the Constitution is to be expounded in its plain, obvious, and common sense, unless the context furnishes some ground to control, qualify, or enlarge it. Constitutions are not designed for metaphysical or logical subtleties, for niceties of expression, for critical propriety, for elaborate shades of meaning, or for the exercise of philosophical acuteness or juridical research. They are instruments of a practical nature, founded on the common business of human life, adapted to common wants, designed for common use, and fitted for common understandings. The people make them: the people adopt them; the people must be supposed to read them, with the help of common sense; and cannot be presumed to admit in them any recondite meaning, or any extraordinary gloss.'—Sec. 212: 'Where technical words are used, the technical meaning is to be applied to them, unless it is repelled by the context. But the same word often possesses a technical and a common sense. In such a case, the latter is to be preferred, unless some attendant circumstance points clearly to the former.'

The Constitution was also framed and adopted with reference to the actual political, social, and local condition of the people. It grew out of their wants and wishes. The steps which finally led to its adoption grew out of one of the many defects in the articles of confederation. Consequently, to arrive at the true meaning of the Constitution, we must bear in mind the political, social, and local condition of the people at the time of its adoption, and, among many other similar facts, the very general existence of domestic slavery.*

Keeping in view these, the very simplest rules of interpretation, we will show what the Constitution is according to the common meaning of its terms; what its framers intended to make it, what, in point of fact, it has been considered to be in the practice of the government; and, finally, what it has been adjudged to mean by that body which it has itself pointed out as the final arbiter of its meaning. And, if all these unite in giving the Constitution but one character, we, as reasonable men, seeking the truth, cannot deny that such is its true character.

THE CONSTITUTION ACCORDING TO THE COMMON MEANING OF ITS TERMS.

The people made it, the people adopted it, the people must be supposed to read it with the help of common sense, and cannot be presumed to admit in it any hidden or extraordinary meaning.

At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, slavery existed in all the States except Massachusetts. How far, if at all, does this instrument support or countenance the institution?

Art. 1, sec. 2: 'Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.'

By this section, persons are divided into those who are free and those who are slaves; for to the whole number of *free* persons are to be added three-fifths of *all other* persons, that is persons not free, or *slaves*. If we adopt the plain, obvious, and common meaning of the words as their true meaning, this conclusion is incontrovertible.

It is sometimes urged, that by 'free person' is men 'citizen.' But the expression cannot be taken in any such technical sense. Under the expression 'free persons' are included those bound to service for a term of years, and therefore from it are excluded those bound to service for life, or slaves.

This article, therefore, recognizes slavery as explicitly as if the word *slave* itself had been used, and gives to the free persons in a slave State, solely because they are slaveholders, a larger representation, and consequently greater political power, than the same number of free persons in a free State. A BOUNTY ON SLAVEHOLDING!

Art. 1, sec. 9: 'The *migration or importation* of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.'

It is clear that this section recognizes a difference betwen the meaning of *migration* and *importation*, since, if both words mean the same thing, no reason whatever can be assigned why a tax is not permitted in both cases. This difference, whatever it is, must afford a good reason why persons imported may be taxed, and persons migrating not. The true meaning of the section seems obvious. A person who migrates does so of his own accord: he cannot be said to be migrated by any other person. He is wholly a free agent. A person who is imported does not import himself, but is imported by some other person. He is passive. The importer is the free agent; the person imported is not a free agent. Thus the slave laws of Virginia of 1748† and 1753‡ begin—'All *persons* who have been or shall be *imported*,' &c. &c. '*shall be* accounted and be *slaves*.' Whenever we hear an importation spoken of, we instantly infer an importer, an *owner*, and *property* imported. This distinction between the meaning of the two words is, then, real. It affords a good reason for the restriction on the right to tax. Therefore, we say, it is the true distinction. On our construction, Congress had power to lay a tax on persons imported as property or slaves, but had no right to tax free persons migrating.

By this clause, therefore, Congress was prevented, during twenty years, from prohibiting the foreign slave trade with any State that pleased to allow it. But, by Art. 1, sec. 8, Congress had the general power 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations.' Consequently, *the slave trade was excepted from the operation of the general power, with a view to place the slave trade, during twenty years, solely under the control of the slave States.* It could not be wholly stopped, so long as one State wished to continue it. It is a clear compromise in favor of slavery. True, the compromise was a temporary one; but it will be noticed that Congress, even after 1808, was not obliged to prohibit the trade; and in point of fact, until 1819 the laws of Congress authorized the States to sell into slavery, for their own benefit, negroes imported contrary to the laws of the United States! (Act Congr. 1807, c. 77, § 4, 6; 1818, c. 86, § 5 and 7; 10 Wheat. Rep. 321, 322.) So unmixed should be our satisfaction at the oft-repeated boast that ours was the first nation to prohibit the African slave trade!

Art. 4, sec. 2: 'No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.'

The time of holding not being limited, the expression here used must include not only persons held to service or labor for a term of years, but also those held to service or labor for life. Consequently, it includes those who are free persons within the meaning of Art. 1, sec. 2, and slaves or persons held to service or labor for life.

That the expression 'person held to service or labor' was a correct definition of the condition of a slave, at the time the Constitution was adopted, is evident. The sixth article of the North-Western ordinance reads thus: 'There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.' In other words, the expression 'a person from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed' so correctly described the condition of a slave, that Congress deemed it necessary to except such persons from the operation of an article relating only to slaves. In less than three months after the passage of this ordinance, this clause in the Constitution was drafted. It needs no argument to show, that the expression in the Constitution means the same as that in the ordinance. 'A person from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States' means the same as 'a person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof.' If the former correctly described the condition of a slave, the latter did also.

* This point, and the legality of Colonial and State Slavery, are more elaborated in an article called 'The Constitutionality of Slavery,' printed in the 'Massachusetts Quarterly Review'; a purely legal, uninteresting examination, which needs not to be repeated here.

For a more extended proof of the constitutionality of slavery, we refer to Wendell Phillips's very able Review of Lysander Spooner's Essay.

† 5 Hen. Stat. 547. ‡ 6 Ibid. 356.

We can, however, see that the expression does properly describe the legal condition of a slave. A slave, though an article of property, has always and in every State been recognized as a person, by being held criminally responsible for his acts. Thus the preamble to the Act of S. Carolina (May 10, 1740; 1 Grimke's Laws, 165) which provides for the trial of *slaves*, recites that 'natural justice forbids that any *person*, of what condition soever, should be condemned unheard'; and the Act of Georgia of 1770 (Prince's Dig. 777) provides for the trial of 'slaves and *other persons*.' The act of Virginia (1748, sec. 15; 5 Hen. Stat. 547,) and North Carolina (1741, sec. 29; Iredell, Stat. 62—66) call runaway slaves *persons* in so many words. Similar laws might be cited, if deemed necessary. A slave is also held to labor and service for life by law. Labor and service are the lot of every slave. 'To slave' means 'to toil.' It is sometimes denied, but nevertheless it is true, that the law recognizes that labor and service are legally due from the slave to his master. Thus the Act of North Carolina, (1741, sec. 27,) before quoted, makes it a criminal offence to tempt or persuade a slave to leave his master's 'service.' 'Service' is recognized as being legally due from a slave in Virginia (Act 1691, 3 Hen. Stat. 86, 87.) The Provincial Assembly of South Carolina (Act 1740, sec. 44) provided that—

'If any owner of slaves, or other person who shall have the care, management, or overseeing of any slaves, shall work, or put any such slave or slaves to labor, more than fifteen hours in twenty-four hours, from the twenty-fifth day of March to the twenty-fifth day of September, or more than fourteen hours in twenty-four hours, from the twenty-fifth day of September to the twenty-fifth day of March, every such person so all forfeit any sum not exceeding twenty pounds, nor under five pounds, current money, for every time he, she, or they shall offend herein, at the discretion of the justice before whom the complaint shall be made.'

The Provincial Assembly of Georgia (Act 1770, May 10, sec. 41) provided that—

'If any person shall, on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, employ any slave in any work or labor (works of absolute necessity and the necessary occasions of the family only excepted), every person so offending shall forfeit and pay the sum of ten shillings for every slave he, she, or they shall so cause to work or labor.'

A similar law was passed in South Carolina (Act 1740, sec. 22.) These and similar laws, by limiting the hours of daily work and labor, or by providing that work or labor shall not be demanded of a slave on Sunday, recognize that on other days, and within certain hours, a master may legally demand them. That which may be legally demanded is legally due. Therefore, work and labor, or service, are legally due from the slave to his master. To this labor and service the slave is 'held' by the law. If he refuses to work, his master may coerce him. If he runs away, his master may pursue and retake him legally. He is 'held for life,' or until emancipated according to law. Consequently, the expression in the Constitution correctly describes the condition of a slave. Indeed it more correctly describes this condition than 'chattel personal' would, because it is the almost universal practice to treat a slave, in many important particulars, such as dower, &c., like real property; and, in some States, slaves are declared by statute to be real estate.

By this section, therefore, it is provided that no person held as a slave in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from his slavery, but shall be delivered up on claim of his owner. The laws of one State, whether they support slavery or any other institution, have no power in another State. Consequently, if a slave escapes into a free State, he becomes free. This is the general rule of law. In virtue of it, thousands of slaves are now free on the soil of Canada. In virtue of it, a fugitive slave from South Carolina would be free in this State, were it not for this section in the Constitution. But this section declares that he shall not thereby become free, but shall be delivered up. Again, *the Constitution makes an exception from a general rule of law in favor of slavery.* It gives to slaveholders, and slave laws, a power which the general rule of law does not give. It enables a South Carolina slaveholder to drag from the soil of Massachusetts a person whom the general rule of law pronounces free, solely because South Carolina laws declare the contrary. It makes the whole Union a vast hunting-ground for slaves! There is not a single spot from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the St. John's to the Rio del Norte, or 'wheresoever may be the fleeting boundary of this republic,' on which a fugitive slave may rest, and his owner may not, in virtue of this clause, claim and retake him as his slave!

Art. 1, sec. 8: 'Congress shall have power . . . . to provide for calling forth the militia . . . . to *suppress insurrections.*'

Art. 4, sec. 4: 'The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against *domestic violence.*'

All insurrections and *all* cases of domestic violence are here provided for. To constitute an insurrection within the meaning of the Constitution, there must be a rising against those laws which are recognized as such by the Constitution; and, to make out a case of domestic violence, the violence must be exerted against that right or power which is recognized by the Constitution as lawful. But, by Art. 4, sec. 2, the Constitution admits that some persons are legally slaves; else the clause itself must be entirely inoperative. Consequently, if these persons rise in rebellion, or commit acts of violence contrary to the laws which hold them in slavery, their rising constitutes an insurrection; such acts are acts of violence within the meaning of the Constitution, and consequently must be suppressed by the national power. And what insurrections were more likely to happen, or more to be dreaded, than slave insurrections, and therefore more likely to have been provided for?

Slave-owners are not the only slaveholders. All persons who voluntarily assist or pledge themselves to assist in holding persons in slavery are slaveholders. *In sober truth, then, we are a nation of slaveholders!* for we have bound our whole national strength to the slave-owners, to aid them, if necessary in holding their slaves in subjection!

ADDRESS

To Inhabitants of New Mexico and California, on the omission of Congress to provide them with territorial governments, and on the social and political evils of Slavery.

This is a pamphlet of 56 pages from the clear head and vigorous pen of Judge Jay. It reviews briefly the action of our Government towards its New Territories, showing that the Slave Power had resolved that no government but the aristocracy of Slavery shall ever be extended over them. It then exposes, at length, the ruinous effects of Slavery, on all the important interests of the States where it exists, by numerous well authenticated facts, and convincing arguments. It appeals with a directness, an earnestness, and force, which cannot fail to give a powerful momentum to its thought, to the people of California and New Mexico, to guard themselves from the desolations of slavery by repelling every attempt to introduce it among them, and to cherish freedom as the only source of true prosperity and security, of peace, order and happiness. This part of the Address is mainly a corrected reprint of Judge Jay's excellent 'Address to the Non-Slaveholders of the South,' published some years ago, which we have always regarded as one of the best tracts for general circulation ever issued from the anti-slavery press. The various aspects in which it discusses the destroying effects of slavery upon the South, are exhibited by the headings of the sections. These we will copy to show its tenor and scope. 1. Increase of Population. 2. State of Education. 3. Industry and Enterprise. 4. Feeling toward the Laboring Classes. 5. State of Religion. 6. State of Morals. 7. Disregard for Human Life. 8. Disregard for Constitutional Obligations. 9. Liberty of Speech. 10. Liberty of the Press. 11. Military Weakness. The pamphlet is furnished by the publishers, in suitable quantities, *gratuitously*, to persons who will either personally take and distribute them in California, or will send them for distribution to anti-slavery men or other trusty persons already there. The same offer is made of another pamphlet containing the 'Resolutions of the Wisconsin Legislature on the subject of slavery and the speech of Samuel D. Hastings upon them.'

These pamphlets are also for sale at prices but a fraction above the actual cost, by William Harned, agent, 61 John street, New York. We hope that the liberal offer of the publishers will be accepted by every friend of freedom who can aid in the distribution of Judge Jay's Address in California. Its effect at present would be peculiarly useful in that new country, in preparing the public mind to act upon the slavery question in the organization of a State Government. We will add also that though addressed to the inhabitants of those distant Territories, it is admirably adapted to the wants of a home market, and its general circulation here would unquestionably do great good.—*Pennsylvania Freeman.*

From the Dover Morning Star.

EVIDENCE OF GRACE....SOUTHERN THEOLOGY.

Much has been written with a view of affording the means of determining whether the grace of God is ruling within the heart. And we may suppose the work has been generally undertaken under the influence of the best and highest motives. It is a subject with which it would seem no Christian would consent to trifle. Wrong instructions might make many a true Christian heart sink down in despair, or fill a worldling or a hypocrite with presumption, and hopes that should at last prove like the 'spider's web.'

We were not a little struck with a remark said to have been made by *Rev. Dr.* Bullard, of St. Louis, during his visit to Andover. In an address to the theological students there, he spoke of the State of Missouri as a promising and important field for missionary labor, and urged some of those candidates for the ministry to enter it. But he added that none should think of entering that field *until they were sure they had grace enough in their hearts to keep them entirely silent on the subject of slavery.* When he first went there, he found it almost impossible to restrain his indignant feelings as he saw the workings of the system, *but had now gained grace to enable him to maintain a submissive silence.*

Now, we do not draw the inference from these remarks which we suppose some are ready to draw, viz., that this same Dr. Bullard must be a confounded hypocrite, a wolf in sheep's clothing, a Judas in an apostle's garb. We heard the man speak at the Boston Anniversaries in May. We did *not* hear his speech before the American Colonization Society, though we were told that he reasoned the African race en masse, from the Ethiopian jungles on to Southern plantations, and then reasoned them back as expeditiously and admirably to Liberia, without bringing them within hailing distance of the 'middle passage,' on either journey. In justice to him, we must say that he is a man of no mean abilities, and *seems* to possess no little interest in the cause with which he is specially allied by his pulpit functions. We think he has some humanity, and much zeal. We look upon him as the victim of Southern influences, though by no means guiltless, while he lies so calmly on the altar. We think he *might* see that he is not exactly another Isaac, bound by the Heaven-directed hands of an Abraham—i. e., faith, and therefore required to 'ask no questions for conscience's sake.' We think he *ought* to know that he is being bound by the Philistine's withes, rather than with Abraham's cords; and that he is called on to imitate Samson rather than Isaac. Alas, for the deception that has blinded him!

But this incident is instructive. It shows several things very clearly. And it shows, in the first place, that the South will not tolerate a ministry that speaks decidedly against slavery. Dr. B. admits slavery to be an evil. And his views and feelings, as a minister, called on him, in a voice he could scarcely resist, to speak out against it. Why did he not do it? There is but one answer. *It would not do.* He must choose between silence on that subject, and the cessation of his pulpit labors there. He chose the former, and retained his place. He did not give his *full 'experience'* while he was debating the question. We wish he had. We have no doubt it would have been a most instructive lesson to those Andover students. But that same alternative is presented to every minister who goes South to exercise his functions. And all this is more than intimated in the advice not to think of going to Missouri till they were *sure* they would be enabled to be silent on the subject of slavery. Dr. B. could not bear to have those young men meet the sad fate of Lovejoy, and Dresser, and Thompson, and Work, and Burr, and Fairbank, and Torrey, and so he gives them a caution that will ensure their escape. Said we not that he was yet somewhat humane!

It shows us, in the second place, the danger of compromising with wrong for expediency's sake. Dr. B. did this, and he himself has told us the result. *He has become reconciled to the presence of the evil against which his whole moral nature once cried out.* And, moreover, he has come to *attribute that acquiescence in the presence of the evil to the growth of his religious nature, and his deeper sympathy with God!* We will not stop to draw inferences. But the fearful consequences of compromising with wrong are shown here in startling distinctness. And we could desire no ground for stronger charges against slavery than is here furnished.

We think we understand something of the process by which this revolution in feeling was brought about. The Dr. made the compromise under the pressure of what *seemed a necessity* for doing so. And then, having made it, he must convince himself that he has acted a wise and Christian part. No man can look himself in the face day after day, and call himself a traitor. He must keep on some kind of friendly terms with his conscience; if not, he will soon be driven to report the *last* act in the drama of Judas Iscariot, as well as the *first*. And so our pleader for missionaries went to work to plead his own cause with his own conscience. By being silent on the subject of slavery he would not approbate it. He should dislike it as much as ever. Though he did not pray for the deliverance of his brethren before the window that opened toward Jerusalem, he could whisper supplications in his closet. And then by not being meddling and imprudent, he could gain the confidence of the jealous, and take them by guile. Besides, if he allowed himself to be drawn into a discussion of the question, it would distract his attention, and weaken his interest in the work of saving souls. Besides, it was a political institution, and political action alone could remove it. And to take a decided stand against it would be to identify himself with the abolitionists, who had only exasperated the South by their indiscretions, and put the cause of emancipation back a century. By such reasonings, we have no doubt that the Dr. half convinced himself that he had better close his lips and shut his eyes in the presence of slavery. And so, while the horrors died away upon his sealed vision, and his moral nature became lifeless, under the influence of the sophistical quietus; as confidence toward him waxed warm, and sympathy grew more profuse with its smiles, he fondly dreamed that the blessing of God was following, with its inward peace and outward gifts, the self-denial which grace had enabled him to practise! And it is always thus. He who will not *do* his duty to-day may blame nobody but himself if he do not *know* his duty to-morrow. Dimness shall come over the eye that will not follow the light which is sent to guide it; and deception will steal into the heart which shuts its door against sincerity.

And this incident shows us the influences which are at work to draw the religion of the North into the indirect support of slavery. Dr. B. comes back from a long Southern residence, with gray hairs, and a high reputation, and a commanding eloquence, and a zeal which seems to shame the Christian calmness of a New Englander's temperament, to plead the cause of the South before his younger brethren in the same ecclesiastical communion. He tells them that the fervor he displays is a fruit of the same grace that has taught him, much against his feelings, to be silent on the subject of slavery. He tells them that *their* disposition to be silent like him will indicate the advance they are making in the preparation for their pulpit work. And so far as is known, not one of the professors at Andover utters a single word in public rebuke of such teachings. They welcome him as a Christian brother, and doubtless encourage the address which he is so ready to make. 'What has the North to do with slavery?'

But the time cometh when such appeals will be answered by a burst of indignation, and the marching of a phalanx of Christian teachers to the land of despotism, whose tongues the grace of God shall set on fire with words that will melt off every fetter, and consume every tyrannic lash.

SOUTHERN OUTRAGES ON NORTHERN FREEMEN.

☞ The Union—what atrocities are committed under the influence of this 'covenant with death and agreement with hell'! Down with it!

A Cincinnati correspondent of the *Boston Whig* relates the following incident:

Last evening I stepped into a barber's shop, and learned a fact touching Slavery from the lips of the man on whose person the wrong was done. A very well behaved and genteel colored man, aged 28, who had travelled much in the slave States in the employment of Major A. J. Donaldson, and one or two other distinguished gentlemen, went down the Mississippi river to New Orleans, a barber on board the steamboat Niagara, a year ago. As soon as the boat was fastened to the wharf or Levee, an officer came on board looking for free negroes. He met the barber, and demanded his papers, and was told he had no papers, but was free born in the State of Ohio. He was immediately seized and ordered to the lock-up. The Captain of the boat interposed, vouching for his being a freeman, and offering to become bound in any sum, from $5,000 to $15,000, that the colored man, William K. B. Brown, should remain constantly on board the boat while she was at New Orleans, and that he would return up the river with the boat. This would not do, and the intelligent barber was hurried away to confinement, where he was kept, eighty-seven days before his Cincinnati friends could learn his whereabouts; all his letters being intercepted or strangely miscarried. At last Judge McLean and Col. Wm. K. Bond, formerly, and for many years a Member of Congress from this State, and now Surveyor of this port, in whose family the barber was born, and for whom he was named, interposed, paid all expenses and charges and had him released. His bills of board and washing, &c., used up his kit of shaving tools and spare clothes, which he sold to raise money and aside from his time and sufferings of mind, his costs amounted to about $250, which he is laboring hard to secure; and is refunding the money advanced by Judge McLean and Col. Bond.

If anybody believes that the negro had rather be bond than free, a story told by the Wilmington (Del.) *Blue Hen's Chicken* may possibly raise a doubt as to the prevalence of that feeling among colored people of the North. A late number of that paper says:

'On Saturday last an affecting scene took place in the cars about two miles below Newark, which was calculated to touch the heart of the most inhuman slaveholder in the country, were he present to witness it. It never fell to our lot to witness the horror and fear the poor negro has of Slavery, as upon this occasion. Some three free colored persons were in the cars, and should have got out at the Newark depot, but on inquiring were informed that the next station was the place—they kept their seats for about one mile, when they learned they were going at a rapid rate to Maryland—then a scene followed that we cannot find language to describe. One was a young woman, and the others a man, his wife and child. The young woman was so frightened, that sooner than run the risk of going to Maryland, she jumped from the platform, and next followed the man with his child, and were safe. His wife's turn came next, but observing her great danger, we seized her by the arm and prevented her, assuring her that we would get her a pass to return when we arrived at Elkton; she implored us to let her go, and said that she would be arrested and sold into Slavery; she fell on her knees and wrung her hands—a more painful or affecting sight we never beheld. We mentioned the case of this poor woman to Charles Brooks, Esq., clerk for the company, who, to his credit, immediately repaired to Mr. Wells, had her provided for and sent back as soon as the train from Baltimore arrived. We have witnessed many scenes, but in this instance the poor negroes' fear of being sold into Slavery, and their love of Freedom, surpassed all.

No doubt had Mr. McCreary, the slave-catcher, been present at the depot, he would have seized this unfortunate woman, who would probably have been sold into slavery, to be separated from her husband and children, for the sake of getting the amount which the odious law of the State alows.

We called on Mr Vandeford, of the Cecil *Democrat*, and stated the above, who admitted that it was a hard case, but said it was the only way to prevent Abolitionists from coming amongst them. Has Slavery so many horrors? Where is the Christian, the Philanthropist, or the Republican who can justify it? If there is a just God, what must be the doom of the slave-stealer and the slave-dealer?

KIDNAPPING. The free colored woman. Ann Brown, who was seized the other day by the human hounds of the slaveholders in Wilmington, Delaware, has been saved by a *habeas corpus.* The agents of the slaveholders were among the missing when the hearing was had on the writ, and the woman *being proved to be free*, was discharged! The *Blue Hen's Chicken* remarks on this case, that hundreds in that neighborhood *who were free* have been kidnapped and carried off into hopeless slavery; and adds—

We have reason to believe that a large number, perhaps one tenth, or may-be more, of the colored people held in slavery on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, are entitled to freedom if their cases were examined into. The case of the Masseys, concerned in the attempt to carry off Ann Brown, is one—their grandfather, it is said, liberated all his slaves—their

father held the most of them against right, and their grandchildren have done, and perhaps are now doing, the same—and there are said to be hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of free negroes held in the same unlawful way—their former master liberated them to be free at a certain day, and those who held them, never set them at liberty. These slave-catchers and slave-dealers, and some inhuman slaveholders, have been so busy in the work of injustice and oppression of late, sueing some of our best citizens for acts of common humanity, that we think the cup of just retribution ought to be commended to their own lips, and that a committee of ten legal gentlemen, with as many other citizens, ought to be appointed to go into Maryland, examine the records, and ascertain as nearly as may be how many and who are held in slavery that are entitled to their freedom, and demand their release or commence suit to obtain it.

ANOTHER OUTRAGEOUS SLAVE CASE.

BALTIMORE, September 25.

Another case of oppression toward the poor slave came to light this morning, and will be the subject of a judicial investigation in a few days. It appears that several years since, Laban Perdue, of Baltimore, county, sold to a slave named Isaac Dorrs, the remainder of his time of servitude, for a stated sum of money. Isaac went to work, and on the 10th of March, 1847, made the last payment, receiving a receipt in full for himself. He supposed himself free, and hired himself to a wholesale grocer in Gay st., where he has been ever since, acting in the capacity of a free man of color. Yesterday, however, he was arrested by officers, and placed in Campbell's slave depot, alleged to be the property of Arthur McCourt, who says he has purchased Isaac from his former master, Perdue. The poor fellow has luckily retained his receipts of the money paid for his own body, and friends having interfered, hearing of the outrage, a petition has been filed, and a full investigation will no doubt show his freedom. His custodiers have been compelled to give security for his appearance when the case shall come up. It has created considerable excitement among those who know the man, as well as all friends of humanity. This mode of cheating the poor negro out of his hard earnings, under the impression that he is paying for his liberty, has been perpetrated too often. In this case, if it be as represented, the attempt is foiled.

From the New York Tribune.

AN AMERICAN SLAVE IN ENGLAND.

LONDON, (Eng.) June 24, 1849.

DEAR SIR—I witnessed an incident a few days since which I have no doubt will be interesting to you. Being at 27 New Broad st., I was introduced to a fugitive from American slavery. He was a man about my color and size. He could not tell his age, but I should think he was 45. He had been the slave of William Hunter, of New Orleans. He attempted to fly from slavery about two years since, and was overtaken, and received *one hundred and sixty lashes*, and wore an iron collar six months. His next opportunity occurred to get on board of an English vessel. After they had been out three weeks, he was discovered in the hatchway, where he was concealed. The Captain appeared to be enraged; and ordered a sand bag to be tied to his feet, and said he would throw him overboard; that freak over, he ordered him to be tied up, saying he would flog him. When all was ready, he went to him, looked at his back, and said, '*Well, I don't see any place left to flog!*' When he arrived at Liverpool, he ordered him to be kept concealed until night, and then he gave him a suit of clothes, four shillings in money, and started him for London. He came to London and presented himself before the Lord Mayor, who was then sitting in Court; he gave him some money out of the poor box, and ordered lodgings to be provided for him. The next day he was brought to the Anti-Slavery Office, and will go from here to one of the British Islands. One fact in this case has struck me with great force—I may say, alarming force—that an English Captain should hide a fugitive from American slavery after he gets into Liverpool! Here you see American slavery reaching forth its blood-stained hand all over the world, feeling after its victim, and seizing by the throat all who dare aid him. Brother, I tell you we need not fly from American slavery to any part of the world. We must meet it on the continent, and conquer it there, or we are dead men, go where we may! Yours truly,

J. W. C. PENNINGTON,
Pastor Shiloh Presb. Church, New York.

SLAVE CASE AT THE WEST. We learn from the Hillsborough (Ohio) Gazette, that a man by the name of Cogzell, from Memphis, undertook to carry off a negro woman, in Clermont county, (O.,) claiming her as a slave. The woman was found at the house of Mr. James Sloane, near Mourertown, in Hamilton county, was seized by these persons, in the house of Mr. Sloane, and dragged out some distance toward the road, with the intention, as was believed, of transporting her out of the State, as a slave. Before they got to the road, however, they were met by Mr. Sloane, and told they must not remove Mary from the premises without first establishing their claim.

While thus engaged, a warrant was obtained, and the parties arrested upon a charge of seizing a free black person named Mary Elizabeth Munroe, keeping her in restraint and confinement, with intention to transport her out of the State of Ohio. They were brought to Hillsborough. Upon examining and comparing the testimony, it was found that Mary was the slave of Cogzell, purchased as stated in the bill of sale, in April last; that he, her master, sent her with a lady, Mrs. Philpot, who was in ill health, to Ohio, on a visit to her brother, a Mr. Hammet, one of the accused.

While residing in Clermont, some person informed Mary that she was free; that her master having sent her to a free State, had thereby emancipated her. So she resolved to put the matter to a proof, and accordingly on the 5th of July, left the service of Mrs. P. and was by some one taken to Mr. Sloane's, where she remained until seized by the claimants. The black woman, Mary, was admitted to testify as a witness in the case, the first case of the kind in the Highlands since the repeal of the Black Laws. Her testimony, it is said, was calm, clear and deliberate, without confusion or hesitation, and duly corroborated by the testimony of others.

A CURIOUS SLAVE CASE has occurred in St. Louis, the particulars of which, as we learn them from the Reveille, are as follows:—Mr. Hector Moore, of that place, owned a negro boy, who had been in the possession of his wife from 1835 to 1847. He was stolen in the latter year, taken to the South, and sold. Two years afterwards, in 1849, Mrs. Moore, while returning to St. Louis from a visit to New Orleans, recognising her slave on a wharf boat at Memphis, took him back home with her. Shortly afterwards, the persons who had bought him in 1847 from his kidnappers, followed him to St. Louis, and laid claim to him. They issued a writ of replevin, recovered possession of the slave, and had Mr. Moore imprisoned on a charge of abduction. He, however, is likely to right himself on the trial, although his good name has doubtless suffered somewhat from the first reports.

LIBERTY OR DEATH. The *Norfolk* (Va.) *Herald* of Saturday says that Capt. Woolford, of the schooner 'Thomas G. Pratt,' has been arrested in that city, at the suit of a Mrs. Clark, for the loss of a slave. Captain Woolford, it seems, was bound from Fredericksburg to Providence, but being detained by head wind, and wanting also an additional hand, put into Norfolk, and there shipped a colored man who represented himself as free. He then pursued his voyage, but when off Egg Harbor, the vessel sprung a leak, and the Captain determined to return to Norfolk; and on Tuesday, off Chingoteague, the colored man, who was a slave, preferring death to bondage, jumped overboard, and was drowned.

It was heroism in one Virginian to say, 'Give me Liberty or give me Death?' The requiem over another, whose act attests how well he believed in the truth of these words, is an action, before the Mayor, for the value, in dollars and cents, of his living body!—*N. Y. Anti-Slavery Standard.*

DANIEL WEBSTER AND COLONIZATION. In a letter from Mr. Lewis Tappan, published in the Congregationalist of July 6th, the writer thus speaks:

'Subsequently (to the first Colonization meeting held in Boston in Rev. Dr. Channing's Lecture room in 1822) a large meeting was held at the Marlboro' Hotel. Mr. Webster presided, and I officiated as secretary. Judge Story introduced a set of resolutions. A committee was chosen to report at an adjourned meeting a Constitution of the Mass. Colonization Soc. They met, were much divided in opinion. Finally, Mr. Webster rose and said—'IT IS A SCHEME OF THE SLAVEHOLDER TO GET RID OF THE FREE NEGROES. I WILL HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH IT,'—and he left the room!

The Liberator.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 19, 1849.

No Union with Slaveholders!

☞ The Editor is absent this week, in attendance on the annual meeting of the Eastern Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

THE SLAVE EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY.

The lull of Presidential-election storms is both the seed-time and harvest of Reform. Now, if at any time, we can gain the ear of the nation. Free Soil has failed; partly from utter want of sincerity in some of its leaders, and want of sufficient activity and disinterestedness in others; and partly because the time for direct political action had not come. It was making bricks without straw. People do not *hate* slavery enough to care to *do* any thing in the premises. That hatred is yet to be created. Who shall create it? Not the press. Surely not the pulpit. They have so much to do ridiculing abolitionists, that there is no time left them to discuss abolition. The Free Soil orators are in fine health and spirits about November, ready to do their utmost to help the vessel of State over the bar of the Fall elections;—not at all too proud to use any amount of anti-slavery sentiment we will create for them, but far too dainty-fingered or too selfishly busy, most of them, to do any thing meanwhile to extend, deepen or keep alive that very anti-slavery feeling upon which they live, move, and have their being—such as it is.

It rests with the abolitionists to create the public sentiment which will make political action possible. Doubtless, a political party might do much for the moral re-education of a people; but in order to do this, it must be under the control of sincere, far-sighted, uncompromising, restless, devoted men, willing to spend and be spent in the service of their idea; finding or making opportunities every hour to press it home upon the people. No such political party has ever come within the field of view of our anti-slavery telescope. It is manifest to every one, and confessed with a silly smirk even by Free Soilers, that they must depend upon us to build the road for their pageant to roll on. We stand just as much alone, so far as *work* is concerned, as we did seven years ago. Are we doing our utmost? Many are. Not unfrequently we see some one man or woman dragging a reluctant town up to white heat; bestirring themselves with such activity that people at a distance imagine the whole town must glow with excitement, 'and with fear of change perplexing' ministers.

These I do not now address, except in the way of God-speed and encouragement. But there are thousands beside, wishing to do something—meaning to do something—and ending in doing nothing; for want of *combination*, of method. I believe in times and places, in red tape and set plans. Impulse is an ignis fatuus, and the man who determines to do something sometime, will end in doing nothing at all times. The Society or Committee that intends to meet when business requires, will never meet. The true way is to meet and make business. The abolitionist who resolves to give something when he shall have it, will give nothing. His proper way is to plan some work, set apart the time for it, and devote the proceeds to the cause he professes to believe so important. In Cromwell's time, Parliament advised all the Puritans to spare one meal a week, and give the cost to Government. The result was an annual receipt of more than three millions of dollars. Let the man who is staying at home, doing nothing but read his paper, concert with his neighbors such a plan as this, and send to our treasury the proceeds. Let those who deal in any goods set apart one morning or hour, and give the *profits* of that, more or less, to the slave.

Every other cause shames us. Not altogether, because we have some instances of devotedness and effort which no other reformation can equal. But in that well-planned effort which combines the little gifts of time, labor and money, and by good arrangement makes them all *tell*, and increase each other—or rather, in our willingness to be part and parcel of such plans, we are wofully at fault. The Church, which we hold up to scorn, is entitled to mock us when she points us to her young men and maidens, busily at work; her children marshalled to benevolent effort of one kind and another; her ranks all counted, every man's place assigned to him and filled. If we spared meals, luxuries, little pleasures, for the slave, as her little children do for Missions and Tracts, our treasury need never be empty.

I know Reform must ever be a discordant host, fighting under different banners; moved by various impulses; erratic, seeking different objects, and hardly knowing what it seeks; chafing against arrangement and combination by virtue of those very mental characteristics that lead men to new ideas;—while Conservatism is a compact garrison; knowing exactly what is to be defended; what and where its foes are; its watchwords conned and got by rote; its ideas stereotyped; its soldiers with no dangerous tendencies to thought, not units, but parts only of a great whole, and therefore all the easier wielded.

But we have added to this inevitable disadvantage, a foolish jealousy of organization, till we have wandered so far apart, we hardly stand in sight of each other. Close up the ranks, brothers, shoulder to shoulder, and see how ten men together are far more than ten times as strong as one. The complaint is—'We can get no lecturers to come and aid us.' See if this continue true, the moment that fifty towns in this Commonwealth will pledge themselves to need and requite the services of speakers. But each little circle keep its funds jealously to itself awhile, to select out some favorite and hear him; that plan lasts a year; the next year nothing is gathered; the third, no one goes from such a town to our great gatherings; and then anti-slavery dies out there;—whilst others, who have thrown in their lot with the general movement, taking their share of burden and pleasure, grow and strengthen. Those counties whose towns co-operate are alive—the rest are dead.

ORGANIZE—ORGANIZE—ORGANIZE!

No matter how few you are. Let each man warm himself by getting close to his neighbor, and together spy out the weak points in the pro-slavery host, and attack them. Don't imagine yourselves abolitionists, because you take a paper worth ten times its subscription price, or take pleasure in meetings which many beside those who care any thing for the slave have the taste to enjoy. PLAN to get new subscribers; to raise funds for lectures; to work for the Bazaar; to introduce into the close-jointed harness of the pro-slavery church the point of the anti-slavery spear; to shame politicians into decency; to talk; to circulate documents. But PLAN NOW—stake out the work—note down the time—fix your eye on the person—and be true to your purpose.

In giving to the fugitive whose heroic story has moved your sympathies, don't forget the three millions who are still in the bonds he has been lucky or brave enough to break; and for every ten dollars you give him, will it be too much to ask that you give the more important general cause one? Let any two or three in a town associate—see what can be done—how much they can raise—report their names to the General Agent—stand ready to receive his circulars, and co-operate with him. Let him feel that he has a correspondent *in every town*, on whom he can rely in the matter of petitions, of collections, of summoning meetings, and of whose thorough acquaintance with, and labor through his own locality, he may feel confident. The yoke will be easier if resting on many shoulders; and if one or two active spirits would establish themselves as conductors, no one has yet dreamed of the amount which the transient, fluttering, halting, half-way, superficial, interest of the by-standers may be made to perform. My good friend and reader, please TRY, THIS WINTER.—W. P.

THE TOUCHSTONE.

It has lately become quite common for editors of 'religious' papers, (so called,) and for churches and associations of clergymen, to publish resolutions or remarks more or less condemnatory of slavery. Some of these documents use the strongest terms of censure in relation to the 'system' of slavery, and somewhat strong language of appeal to those whom they address, to labor for its overthrow. They are probably regarded by a majority of those who read them as indicating the existence of sound anti-slavery principle in the individuals or associations from which they emanate; yet the abolitionists, the members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, not only refuse to recognize these persons as co-workers in the cause of freedom, but often represent their demonstrations upon this subject as evidence of a dishonest and time-serving character. Why is this; and how are we to distinguish the true from the spurious anti-slavery?

It should be noted, in the first place, that a keen perception of the evils, and even the vices of slavery, does not suffice to make an anti-slavery man. Some of the strongest expressions of this sort have come from men who not only held slaves, but maintained the determination to continue to hold, and buy and sell them. Such language, therefore, is not adequate evidence of abolition.

An anti-slavery man is one who, believing that slaveholding is invariably a sin, and that every master ought immediately to emancipate every slave, manifests such belief in his words and actions.

This character is equally forfeited by failure in the speculative or the practical part of it. I design, in the present article, to apply this test to some of the 'religious' candidates for the prospective honors of anti-slavery.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have supported missionaries who were themselves slaveholders, and others who, living in the midst of slavery, not only made no protest against it, but actively encouraged it by throwing their influence against abolition, hiring slaves of their masters, and admitting slaveholders to the church. Urgent appeals were made to them from time to time to change this grossly pro-slavery course, but they were unanswered, (except by the appointment of committees to recommend inaction, and the adoption of their reports,) until the remonstrants increased to a number which threatened seriously to affect the pecuniary resources of the Board. Then they did something. And what was it? Their Prudential Committee sent an agent to the missionary stations in question, who afterwards made a report of them to the Board, specifying some of the evils of the system they were encouraging, and 'suggesting' the expediency (all things considered) of being less prominent in their support of slavery. The missionaries replied that the reflections of the committee were unreasonable, and their expectations quite too extravagant; for the sake of peace, however, they would agree to buy no more slaves, and to discontinue the hiring of them as soon as it was convenient to do so; but the application of expulsion or discipline to slaveholding church-members, as such, was not to be thought of, and they should insist on their right to receive into their churches as worthy Christian brethren, not only ordinary slaveholders, but those who sold children away from their parents. The Prudential Committee then wrote again to the missionaries, and suggested to them a farther consideration of the circumstances of the case, expressly conceding, however, their right to hire slaves, to retain slaveholding members in their churches, and to admit slaveholders as new members, and concluding with the expression of a desire that the relation of the missions to the subject of slavery should be put upon 'a *broad*, SCRIPTURAL basis, as soon as possible.'

The missionaries, who had been unaccountably obtuse before, seemed now to begin to understand what the Board wanted, and wrote a letter which attained the commencing dissonance in that body to the most delightful harmony.

They regarded slavery as a tremendous evil—had not one particle of sympathy with it—indeed, nothing but duty had kept them thus long connected with it—they had ever felt it their duty 'to seek the spiritual good of both masters and servants, and *not to interfere with the legal relations they sustain to each other*'—the evils and wrongs of slavery had for more than five and twenty years been the subjects of their anxious and prayerful deliberations—they heartily concurred in the wish of the Board to have the whole matter rest on a broad scriptural basis, and pointed exultingly to the following principles, long since sanctioned by the Board, which have ever guided, and which shall still guide them:

1st. The ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper cannot be *scripturally* and rightfully denied to those who give credible evidence of piety. [slaveholding church-members being judges].

2d. The missionaries, in connection with the [slaveholding] churches which they have gathered, are to be the sole judges of the sufficiency of this evidence.

They wished to avoid even the appearance of evil. They cordially approved the reports of the Board—gratefully remembered the visits of the Secretaries, and their obligations to the Committee—humbly desired the prayers of their patrons—and closed by referring again to the Holy Scriptures as their rule.

The apparent antagonism between the missionaries and the Board having thus been nicely smoothed away, and the evil and wrong of slavery thus adroitly saddled upon the Holy Scriptures, (which, from long use, are perfectly able to take the weight and the responsibility of such burdens,) the whole matter was quietly disposed of and laid aside for another year, by a suggestion from the *Prudential* Committee, that no vote be taken on the subject; this suggestion being received with consenting silence by those who last year were strenuous for reformatory action, the matter rests for the present upon this basis: The missionaries will continue to sanction slavery by the admission of slaveholders to their churches as Christians, and the Board consent that they shall do so.

It appears then that, tried by the test above mentioned, the A. B. C. F. M. have no pretensions to anti-slavery principle, but occupy the same pro-slavery ground with their missionaries among the Cherokees and Choctaws. Let us pass to another case.

Within a few years, many indications have shown that anti-slavery truth is making a breach through the bulwarks of superstition and conservatism that surround the churches, and that while *many* church-members are beginning to demand some action of their churches and associations against slavery, *some*, instructed by this fast-anchored resistance to the current of reform, are seriously beginning to doubt if the church *is* that salt to preserve from corruption, and that light to dispel error, which she assumes to be. This state of things has at length forced itself upon the attention of the clergy, who, finding that neither indifference nor opposition meet the exigencies of the case, are now beginning to practice a politic bending to the storm. The grossly pro-slavery position of the old 'religious' newspapers, (such as the New York Observer, and the Boston Recorder, Puritan, Watchman, Reflector, Register, &c.,) was seen to be aiding the work of alienation above alluded to, and some of the more sagacious of the clergy have come to the rescue with a set of new 'religious' papers, purporting to be opposed to slavery. Prominent among these are the Inquirer, (Unitarian,) the Independent and the Congregationalist, (Orthodox.) Their claims to the approval and support of anti-slavery men are their admission of the pro-slavery character of some of the worst of their predecessors, and an exposition, in their columns, of more or less of the evils of slavery, and the duty of Christians to oppose it. The question is, are these claims well founded? Does their opposition to slavery amount to ANTI-slavery? Is it apparent only, or real? Is it mere 'profession,' or vigorous, hearty, and efficient action?

The question may at once be settled by the application of the proper test. Let the language used, and the action recommended by these papers be placed side by side with the definition of ANTI-slavery, and the truth will appear at a glance. Do they believe that slaveholding is in every case a sin, and that every master should immediately emancipate his slaves; and do their language and actions correspond with this belief? The Congregationalist is a fair representative of the class of papers referred to, and we will try it by this test. It says of the late meeting of the A. B. C. F. M.:

'We thought there was, in the recent letter of the Choctaw missionaries, a more outspoken opposition to slavery, and more readiness to yield to the suggestions contained in the letter of the Prudential Committee. . . . . We think the anti-slavery friends of the Board may well afford to let the matter rest here for the present.'

This letter of the Choctaw missionaries, be it remembered, is the one of which an abstract is given above, declaring that their rule is, not to interfere with the legal relation between master and slave, and maintaining their determination still to receive slaveholders into their churches; and one of the suggestions of the Prudential Committee was, that they might still pursue this course.

Thus the real position of the Congregationalist is, that slaveholding is perfectly compatible with Christianity. It calls the N. Y. Observer a rabidly pro-slavery paper. This is true, but the adjective forms the only distinction between them. The Congregationalist is *cautiously* pro-slavery, and the same remark is applicable to the other papers cited above in connection with it.

The last case which we shall mention of false assumption of anti-slavery character, is the late Report on Slavery of a Committee of the Convention of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts.

There is much good talk in this pamphlet; much that would prove a good preamble to anti-slavery action; but it is made useless by standing alone, without any definite, practical conclusion, like a portico without a building. It lacks anti-slavery character in not recommending such *definite action* in the premises as would be appropriate at once to those who made and those who received the Report.

Anti-slavery requires that every man work *in his own place* against the theory and the practice of slaveholding. Thus the orator must speak against it at Plymouth and Bunker Hill, the editor write against it in his paper, the minister preach against it in his pulpit, the church-member oppose its entrance into his church, and stir up his church to withdraw ecclesiastical fellowship from it. This last is the very service which fidelity to truth and duty most especially required of heads of churches, addressing church-members on the mode in which their religious principles should be brought to bear against slavery. But nothing of this sort appears in the Report. It is barren. Its conclusion is lame and impotent.

In the next place, such portions of anti-slavery truth as do appear in this pamphlet are vitiated and nullified by concessions, interspersed here and there, of a directly opposite character. For instance:

'We may concede, that the relation of a master to his slave may not always imply guilt in the master.' p. 15.

'It certainly was neither *lawful* nor expedient for Paul, or any of the apostles, to teach any such doctrine, as that slaves ought not to obey their masters; and that, *if their masters would not set them free, they would be justified in running away.*' p. 50.

'Until it (slavery) shall in some legal manner be abolished, it is the duty of the judiciary to sustain the provisions of the Constitution in respect to it.' p. 73.

'It is therefore the duty of the people of these United States to submit to the laws of the land in their recognition AND SUPPORT of slavery, SO FAR, and only so far, as the integrity and peace of the state require such submission.' p. 81.

'We admit that that is property, for the time being, which the law declares to be property. We would not counsel interference with the slaveholders in the exercise of this right, as long as it exists.' Ibid.

'To emancipate the slave, wherever found, from the yoke of the oppressor, and give him the civil equality which is his inalienable right,——needs no combination with it of radical revolution in church or state.' p. 61.

Considering what our church is, and what our state is, this last declaration is equally amusing for its temerity, and amazing from its disregard of facts. It is like proposing to amputate a leg and heal the wound, while the patient is walking about and transacting his ordinary business. It is like giving aid to the Hungarians, 'without combining with it' any interference with the plans of Russia and Austria.

To represent a pamphlet containing the above concessions as condemnatory of slavery, or as entitling its authors to the credit of doing what they can to destroy slavery, must require no small amount of assurance. But the Committee have sufficient for the emergency.

I must not close without noticing another feature of the Report, which is directly contrary, not only to anti-slavery, but to the first principles of morality and religion. It is one which should excite general horror and condemnation, but which the preaching and writings of the clergy have made so familiar to the ears of men, that they believe and practise it without scruple.

Dr. Worcester and his colleagues declare (p. 81) 'that all laws sanctioning or upholding slavery, and giving to man property in man, are contrary to justice and humanity, and in direct violation of the precepts of Christianity.' They further declare (p. 56) 'that Christianity can sanction *no laws*, usages, or expedients, designed to keep men in ignorance or degradation, of any kind or degree.' They further declare (p. 86) that conscience never compromises except when it sins; and that neither an individual nor a state can ever retain one admitted wrong, without serious injury to the whole moral nature. And yet, in direct opposition to all this, they counsel their churches and the community to obey the laws enforcing slavery, 'manifestly founded in injustice,' 'as far as is necessary for the integrity and peace of the state.' The wisdom that is from above is *first pure*, THEN peaceable; but our reverend committee think that purity, both in church and state, must be kept subordinate to peace. Nay! they add insult to injury, by stating (p. 81) as the very reason of their preference of an unjust law to a just one, the human to the divine, that 'no society is organized upon pure principles of right and justice, and the wisest human legislation is but an approximation, more or less distant, to Perfect Law.' They place the two laws side by side, deliberately examine and compare them, recognize one as perfectly just and the other as thoroughly unjust, and then decide for themselves, and counsel their flocks, to reject the former and obey the latter, and give as the very reason for such preference, that the law which they select as their guide is NOT pure or perfect. All this time, be it observed, they never lay aside the impudent pretence that they are ministers of *the gospel*, and ambassadors of *Christ*; and they say, without blushing, (p. 59,) 'Our confidence of success must rest on God alone. His arm must bring deliverance to the bond-man.'

Were there such false priests in Isaiah's time, or did he see in prophetic vision the Convention of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts, when he said, 'Wo unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as it were with a cart-rope: that say, "Let him make speed, and hasten his work, that we may see it, and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come, that we may know it!" Wo unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter.'—C. K. W.

'FATHER' MATHEW.

MY DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

I have read, with deep sorrow, the account you give of your interview with 'Father' Mathew, and that also of friend Rogers (whose conduct I admire); his statement is a full confirmation, if confirmation were needed, of your accuracy, which no one, not even your enemies, can doubt.

What a fallen man is 'Father Mathew' in the eyes of all Europe; yea, in the eyes of doughfaces and slaveholders, and yet we see the latter classes try to applaud him; but their plaudits are his lasting defamation, and show the alliance he has formed with crime, and the depth of his apostacy! But mark, while it will result in the infamy of a man who was the idol of the multitude, it will also redound to the furtherance of the anti-slavery cause.

There are a few in England, who, for want of moral perception, or whose philanthropy is of a partial nature, will try to excuse 'Father' Mathew, and throw the blame on you. For what? For treating 'Father' Mathew with confidence and courtesy? For believing that the advice he gave to his countrymen in 1842 came from an honest heart? For relying on the integrity of his character—that he was the same man on the American soil in 1849 that he was in Ireland in 1842? For exercising for him that spirit of charity which hopeth all things, a charity to which he has proved himself not entitled? Yes, for this you have offended!

You ought to have measured him, not by the abiding principles of faith, hope, and charity, but by the sliding scale of the latitude and longitude of his location. For you have had ample proof already of men who, on this side the Atlantic, obtained praise as dauntless abolitionists, but on your side the water, were willing to sacrifice conscience and the slave for the popularity of man-hating religionists. Among the faithless, one was faithful—the dauntless George Thompson.

Had 'Father' Mathew retained his integrity, it would not only have produced a great and happy moral influence on multitudes, but slaveholders, and even their 'feculum,' the slave-drivers, would have been compelled to honor his fidelity. They could not have complained to find him avowing, with manly Christian courage, the same great principles in America that he did in Ireland. All would have been well, had he only replied to you or to your Committee, saying—'Tell the friends of the slave that my heart is with them, though I cannot come and help them, as I have another great kindred work in hand, which I cannot leave. Tell them that the sentiments I held in Ireland, as contained in the address of 70,000 in the year 1842, I now hold in America, in 1849. Those sentiments I shall defend, wherever I am assailed, as far as time will allow me.'

But now, what do the slaveholders and their allies say? 'Aha! aha! so would we have it; thou art shorn of thy strength; thou art one of us; we will kneel on our human chattels, and thou shalt stand upon them to give us the pledge, which we will take to recompense thy treachery, but will not keep it. The bubble thou hast sought thou shalt have, and we will profit by thy infamy.'

I have been not only an admirer, but a defender of 'Father' Mathew's zeal in the temperance cause. I can be so no more, until he is willing, for the sake of truth, and the victims of slavery, whom he has sacrificed at the shrine of his popularity, to 'make himself of no reputation.' But I fear he has neither moral courage nor Christian principle to take such a position; he prefers the bubble reputation, which a breath has made, and which a breath will destroy. He had counted the cost, and was willing to receive for the betrayal of his Master, in the persons of the millions of slaves, throughout the world, the pestiferous breath of fame, issuing from the plunderers and destroyers of God's down-trodden and helpless poor. Alas! poor man, how hast thou fallen! Thou hast bartered truth for less than a Judas' fee!

Some lament that 'Father' Mathew went to America; so do I, but it may have been necessary to show to Protestants his want of principle. Would that he had maintained his integrity; he would have made the hearts of tyrants quail, and yet approve, for even 'Satan stands aghast, and feels how awful goodness is;' millions of slaves would have wiped away their tears with hope, and the blessings of them that were ready to perish would rest upon him.

Dear Garrison, fare-thee-well!

Yours affectionately,
HENRY C. HOWELLS.

Worcester, (Eng.,) Sept. 24, 1849.

WORK FOR THE FAIR.

At the meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, held on Sunday last at Hanson, a Committee was appointed to nominate Local Committees in the different towns in the county, whose duty it should be to solicit contributions to the approaching National Anti-Slavery Bazaar. At the evening session, that Committee reported a goodly list of names, which were accepted by the Society, as constituting the very Committees whose aid the exigencies of the cause require. We hope they will all be able to serve the cause in that capacity. Due notice of their election will be given them by the Nominating Committee. Are our anti-slavery friends in other towns, and other sections of the State, taking hold of the good work? The time of the Fair is fast approaching, and we trust that these harvest moments will not be lost. Let every abolitionist be up and doing! This is truer work than caucusing for political candidates.—M.

JOSEPH BARKER.

The following letter from this noble Christian reformer, which we copy from Douglass's North Star, is the first public information of him, we believe, that has been given since his arrival in this country, and as such, will be read with interest:—

ON BOARD THE STEAMER,
Off Detroit, Sept. 29, 1849.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I had intended to call on you on my way westward from New York; but I have been detained so long on the sea and at New York, that I really durst not do it. I wanted to see the country before the cold weather came on. I shall be on my way back to New York in about ten days, when I shall try to give you a call at Rochester. I am well, and have been well pleased with the country so far. If I can so arrange matters, I shall, if all be well, return to this country with my family, to settle here. I *think* I shall settle in Ohio, near my brothers Samuel and James, in Summit Co. I had intended to lecture a little in America, before my return to England, but my work has been sufficient for me. I must lecture when I come to settle. I shall not be in a hurry to return to England then, perhaps.

I am, yours affectionately,
J. BARKER.

☞ It is stated that the slave States of this Union have at the different elections for President cast 1518 electoral votes, and that only THREE HUNDRED AND NINETEEN of these were cast for Northern citizens. John Adams at both trials received but *twenty-four* votes, and John Quincy Adams only FIFTEEN. Isn't this a 'glorious Union'!

GREAT ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING IN LONDON.

We lay before the readers of the Liberator this week—though to the exclusion of other articles which were intended for insertion—the report, in part, of a large and stirring reception meeting of Wm. W. Brown in London. In the absence of Mr. Garrison, we have only to say, that the report was made expressly for the Liberator by our excellent friend and able stenographer, Mr. W. Farmer, who merits our hearty thanks for his service. The testimony of the venerable Dr. Oxley, who stands at the head of the temperance cause in London, in reference to Father Mathew, was very timely. Of the Mr. Jones who figures in the meeting we know nothing, and no one whom we have seen has ever heard of him. He, however, furnished a good text for George Thompson to comment upon. In the course of a week or two, we may be able to speak more definitely in respect to him. His facts—if they should prove to be *facts*, for they run back beyond a middle-aged man's memory—are stale, and prove nothing to the point he adduced them to establish. But we do not believe that the Rev. Thomas Paul ever officiated as Chaplain to the Massachusetts Legislature; though, if he had, it would amount to nothing against the facts existing on every hand of a deep and bitter prejudice bearing down upon the colored people of this land, some of which facts Mr. Thompson adduced with great force and eloquence in his reply. In a note to the editor, Mr. Thompson assures him that the remainder of the report will be of great interest. He also states that Wm. W. Brown has invitations to various parts of the country, and was to commence on the 1st inst., at Worcester.—W.

PUBLIC RECEPTION OF WM. W. BROWN IN THE METROPOLIS OF ENGLAND.

On Thursday evening, September the 27th, a public meeting was convened in the spacious and elegant concert-room in Store street, London, for the purpose of greeting W. W. Brown on his arrival in England, as the representative of the slaves and free persons of color in the United States, and to afford that gentleman an opportunity of giving information relative to the present position of the anti-slavery cause in his native land.

The hall was crowded in every part by a highly respectable audience. The Chair was occupied by the venerable leader in the cause of temperance in the metropolis, Dr. Oxley, of Hackney, who was supported by George Thompson, Esq., M. P., the Rev. W. Brock, (the distinguished Baptist Minister,) H. T. Atkinson, Esq., the Honorary Secretary of the National Reform Association, D. McDonnell, an active and influential member of the Council of the Reform League; W. H. Ashurst, Sen., (of the Common Council of the City,) the Rev. Mr. McCree, W. Gossin, Esq., W. Farmer, Esq., Messrs. Gosbell, Mollett, McEviley, &c. &c. &c.

Dr. Oxley, in opening the proceedings, said:—I am extremely pleased at meeting so large and influential an assembly of the friends of humanity on this very interesting and important occasion. I have all my life been opposed to slavery of every kind, wherever it has existed, and by whatever name it has been called, and feel a pleasure in the remembrance that I have been associated in times past, with some of the wisest, the greatest and the best men who have ever lived—with Wilberforce, Clarkson and others—almost from the commencement of the anti-slavery movement in this country. Though now between seventy and eighty years of age, I feel as warm in the cause as I did at first, (hear, hear,) and I only wish I had it in my power to contribute more towards enabling our friends to carry the principles of Emancipation throughout the world. (Cheers.) The object of our meeting to-night will be fully stated by that warm, excellent and devoted friend of humanity, George Thompson (loud and prolonged cheering); but before I call upon that gentleman, I wish to make an observation or two upon a subject which has been lately brought to my notice, relative to my excellent friend—I call him so, for I had the pleasure and honor of being associated with him in London, and he has been an inmate of my house—I allude to Father Mathew. (Hear, hear, and marks of disapprobation.) I am sorry to learn that he has not had the moral courage to stand forward in America, and lift up his voice against the crying national sin of slavery. (Cheers.) In my estimation, such conduct is a blot upon the character of Father Mathew, and if he were here, I would tell him so. (Cheers.) I love teetotalism as dearly as Father Mathew does; but if he were present, and could hear my voice, I, as a teetotaler, would tell him that I considered his recent conduct one of the greatest blots that could be affixed to his character. (Hear, hear.) Having been the companion of Father Mathew during his mission in London, I have felt myself bound to make this statement. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. THOMPSON then came forward. He begged to introduce Mr. Brown as a man in every way worthy of the respect and confidence of that assembly. He (Mr. Thompson) had for some years marked through the public papers the course of Mr. Brown in the United States, and had seen him devoting his energies to the cause of his enslaved brethren. On visiting England, Mr. Brown had brought with him a letter which he (Mr. T.) would presently lay before the meeting; it was from the President of the American Anti-Slavery Society—a man (said Mr. Thompson) of whom I can never speak but in terms of the highest admiration, and for whom I have long cherished an ardent and sincere affection, which I cannot imagine any circumstance will ever have the power to diminish. I refer to that undaunted vindicator of the rights of humanity in America, William Lloyd Garrison—(enthusiastic cheering)—a man who, twenty years ago, upon his bended knees, devoted his powers and faculties to the cause of the slave, and registered a vow, that while he could obtain bread and water, he would not cease to labor for the abolition of the accursed system of man-stealing and slavery in his native country. That vow he has observed with a fidelity which has never been exceeded by that of any reformer who ever appeared to bless the world. He has labored on through obloquy, peril and scorn, and has now the satisfaction of knowing that the cause he so early espoused is advocated by tens of thousands throughout America. To Mr. Garrison belongs the honor of having, to a great extent, revolutionized the public sentiment of the free States of America. Hereafter his name will appear first among the benefactors of his country; but even now he commands the respect of all who admire incorruptible integrity and unbending principle, and rejoices in the love and affection of those who have become associated with him in his works of mercy, and have witnessed the hourly consecration of his talents to the good of mankind. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Thompson then read the letter of Mr. Garrison, which spoke very highly of the moral character and intellectual abilities of Mr. Brown. He (Mr Thompson) knew too well the feelings of a British audience to doubt for an instant the nature of the reception which that assembly would give to his friend and brother when he rose. (Cheers.) He (Mr. Brown) was the legitimate and national representative of the slaves and the free people of color in the United States. Let your welcome to Mr. Brown (said Mr. Thompson) be less an act of kindness and hospitality to him, than a public and national recognition of the claims of three millions of slaves to their lost freedom and the rights of humanity. Let the hand you give to Mr. Brown, be given as to the 600,000 free persons of color scattered over the Western, Northern and Eastern States, who, though not property, as are the slaves, are compelled to feel the weight of a chain as galling, almost, as that which is worn by the bondmen of the South—I refer to the fetters that are forged by prejudice. Behold, then, in our friend, the representative of those in America, who,

no matter what their virtues, their talents, or their piety, are the victims of a cruel, inhuman and unchristian prejudice against the color of their skin.

Mr. Thompson was here interrupted by loud cries of 'no, no,' uttered from the body of the hall by a gentleman of somewhat aristocratic appearance and military bearing, wearing a black moustache.

Mr. Thompson. I find there is a dissentient in the hall. I will therefore justify what I have asserted by facts of the most recent date. We have a fugitive from slavery here to-night; of him I will say nothing; he is of age, and can speak for himself. Some time ago there was another fugitive from American slavery amongst us; a man who had been hunted by blood-hounds in the Southern States of America; but who, animated by a burning desire for liberty, and guided by the good providence of God and the rays of the North Star, touched at last the soil of Massachusetts, where, thanks to the heroic labors of Mr. Garrison and his coadjutors, the slaveholder is now in more danger than the slave. This man came to this country. Though there is not an orator in England by whose side that man would appear to disadvantage—though richly endowed by nature, and his native talents cultivated by practice and assiduous application since his escape from slavery—though wielding an almost divine power of changing at once the judgments and the feelings of his hearers—that man was, even in the polished cities of the free States of America, dragged from the railway cars—classed with horses and pigs on board steamboats, and excluded from all the usual places of public resort as a proscribed and hated negro. (Loud cries of 'Shame.') On his way to this country, he was subjected to the most brutal treatment at the hands of his white countrymen, who were his fellow passengers; and though while here he was entertained as a distinguished guest by the Mayors of metropolitan cities, yet, no sooner did he again come in contact with his pale-faced countrymen, (though it was on the deck of a British Mail Steamer,) than he was robbed of the berth for which he had paid;—excluded from the table of the saloon;—banished from the quarter deck, and sent, like a pariah or a leper, to live in solitude until the vessel reached its destination. (Groans, hisses and cries of 'Shame.') But I will take a still more recent case. Perhaps the honorable gentleman who interrupted me has ascended, as I have done, the magnificent Hudson, in one of those floating palaces which ply upon that river.

The gentleman. I have.

Mr. Thompson. Very good; well, the man of whom I have been speaking, and that man is Frederick Douglass—(loud cheers)—I perceive you have not forgotten my friend; how could you? No one who has ever listened to the thrilling tones of his voice can ever forget him. Did that man possess a white skin, he would take his stand by the side of the Clays, the Bentons, the Everetts and the Websters of his country; and he is worthy to do so. But God has chosen, without leave asked and obtained from the President of America, to give him a colored complexion, and for this he was only a few short months ago, treated worse than a cur would have been treated, on board one of the Hudson steamers. Coming down from Albany to New York, in company with two English friends—ladies of accomplished manners, and of high respectability in this city—he was, from six in the morning until the arrival of the boat at New York, compelled to fast, being denied, with insult and brutality, even a biscuit, by the stewards of the vessel. (Loud cries of 'Shame.') Yet, the gentleman now present denies the existence of a cruel and inhuman prejudice against color. Has he never seen a board over the entrance to a place of public amusement in America with these words—'No dogs nor negroes admitted'? Is not the colored man exiled to the 'Negro's pew,' in the building *called* the house of God? Has he never heard of the 'Jim Crow Car,' attached to the railway train. Is he ignorant of the partial or entire exclusion of colored men from the rights of citizenship in the free States? Will he assert that the schools of Massachusetts, supported by the taxes of the people, are open to colored children as well as to white? I know not whether our dissentient friend is or is not a citizen of the United States, but he tells me he has been in that country, and he must therefore know full well, that there is not anything more notorious or more obvious than the existence and constant manifestation of this prejudice against color. If the gentleman still denies the fact, and will ascend this platform, and state the case as he views it, I will promise him an attentive hearing, and will debate with him the question at issue. He shall find in me a courteous and honorable, though a fearless and uncompromising opponent. (Loud cheers, and cries of 'Go to the platform.') Let me now again refer to Mr. Brown, and ask you to prove, by your reception of him, your love for the cause of those he comes to represent. There can be nothing more effectual done to aid that cause than to welcome fugitives from slavery amongst us, and thus to show to the American people that the very human beings whom they place upon the auction block, and sell as cattle, whom they hunt with bloodhounds, and lacerate with cart-whips, and brand with hot irons, and degrade below the level of humanity, are recognized here as men and as brethren, and their society preferred before that of the most intellectual and worthy of their oppressors. (Loud cheers.)

Loud calls from all parts of the meeting for the American apologist to ascend the platform; which request he at first declined to accede to, but ultimately, at the solicitation of the Chairman, the gentleman accepted the invitation, and, amidst loud cheers, took his seat near Mr. Thompson. Having been called forward by the Chairman to address the meeting, he rose and stated that his name was

George Jones—that he would yield to no man in either hemisphere in his love of liberty in its most enlarged sense. He was an Englishman by birth, as his name certified, but had lived in Boston, in America, for eighteen years. He therefore from that platform had some right to be considered as addressing them with truth, as well as Mr. Thompson. The negative which he (Mr. Jones) had given to Mr. Thompson was on a matter of fact; and if he had misunderstood the honorable speaker, he was sorry for it; all persons were liable to err in hearing as well as in speaking; but he had understood Mr. Thompson distinctly to say, that in the Eastern States of America, the prejudice against the colored people was as *gallinge*—that was the phrase—as slavery itself; and he made a compari on between the slavery of the Southern States and the prejudice of the others.

Mr. Thompson. That is correct.

Mr. Jones said, if so, he would deny it from personal observation. Mr. Daniel Webster was his (Mr. Jones's) personal friend, and the last glass of wine he took the day before he left America was in the drawing-room of Mr. Webster. He (Mr. Jones) said distinctly, that the colored people never did pass through the city of Boston meeting with frowns from the Americans, and he called on Mr. Brown,—in testimony to whom he (Mr. Jones) would join hands with the meeting,—but he called upon him to contradict the assertion. The anniversary of American Independence was on the 4th of July, and the anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the State of Massachusetts was on the 14th of July, and he would call upon Mr. Brown to state whether the colored people there had not their procession on that day for celebrating their emancipation, ten days after the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. That fact he would dare the gentleman to negative in reply. He would also give another proof of the non-existence of prejudice against color, which Mr. Thompson, with all his eloquence, could not gainsay; he alluded to the fact that the chaplain of the Senate of Massachusetts was changed every month, and the ministers were taken in rotation; and the Rev. Mr. Paul,—whom they must all know, since they vindicated the negro, was a negro preacher in Boston, and never desecrated his pulpit by receiving a white man into it—but that colored preacher had a seat in the Senate of the country, and offered up his prayers to God in charity. He (Mr. Jones) had seen it in Boston; that colored man sat there as well as the Everetts, Channings, or even his friend, Mr. Webster. He (Mr. Jones) had been attracted by the word 'Freedom' at the door of the meeting, and had therefore entered it, and he declared that the state of the negro in the East was not so galling as in the South. He made that declaration not only before that meeting, but before his God. He asserted that the charge was——the meeting would pardon him; he would not utter the word his heart would dictate, for he remembered he was before a public assembly. He had also lived two years in the South, in Virginia, and had been entertained there by gentlemen, although they knew he was opposed to slavery on principle. He was not less happy in his residence there; slaves there had bought their freedom; slaves there worked as mechanics; they had Saturday for their overwork, and their time was paid for in gold; and in the savings banks many of them had enough to purchase their freedom, but they would not do it. There was the case of Col. Myers's tobacco manufactory, which had 300 colored people in it. He (Mr. Jones) abhorred slavery in principle, but he objected to misrepresentation. When Mr. Charles Dickens published his work on America, some years since, he had stated that it was a common practice of the slaveholders to pull out the teeth of their slaves as a punishment; for having stigmatized the Americans in that manner, he (Mr. Jones) had refused to give his hand to that excellent writer. He trusted the meeting would pardon him for having expressed himself warmly; while he was an Englishman here, he was also a citizen of the United States. His public life was his pledge for him, that in England and America, he had endeavored, on all occasions, to defend the wronged, and vindicate the oppressed; and he was doing so at that time. He had come as a stranger to the meeting, having no right to the platform. (Hear.) He thanked Mr. Thompson for his courtesy, and the Chairman for his manliness and fair play in having given him (Mr. Jones) an opportunity of making that speech. He only rose to vindicate his negative to the statement made by Mr. Thompson relative to the points he had referred to; with that exception, he gave the same British hearty applause which throughout they had given to the noble sentiments of his opponent.

Mr. Thompson rose and said, he could neither retract nor modify a single word he had uttered respecting the prejudice against color in the United States. (Cheers.) Notwithstanding what Mr. Jones had said of Boston, he (Mr. Thompson) would affirm, that even in that city, the colored man was a victim of prejudice which in its effect upon the mind of a sensitive and educated person was as galling as slavery itself to one of less susceptible mind. (Cheers.) Let us (he continued) try Boston by a test which, better than any other, perhaps, will decide the question between me and my opponent. If there is a place in which men should assemble as on a common level; from which pride and prejudice should be banished; where conventional distinctions should, for the time, be obliterated, that place is the sanctuary—for there we meet as the children of one Father, and as heirs of the same promise. Whether as sinners or saints, we are equal, and the consciousness of common necessities and common hopes should teach us to fling away the prejudices and prepossessions which we are prone to cherish in the world. How stands the case in Boston? Why, I will undertake to say, that there is not a church in that city, unless one formed on anti-slavery principles, in which a colored man would be allowed to hold and occupy a pew in the body of the building erected for public worshlp. An instance did once occur of a colored citizen becoming the proprietor of such a pew, but his appearance in it threw the whites into consternation, and the man and his family were persecuted until the property was relinquished. Mr. Jones cannot point me to a religious denomination in Boston that, as such, has opened its doors to the colored man, and admitted him on terms of perfect social equality. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Unitarians, Swedenborgians, and Universalists, are alike guilty in this matter. And if such is the example set by professing Christians, what can we expect from those who have no reverence for religion, and no respect for the principles of Christianity? If such things are done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry? I rejoice in the fact that there are many, and the number is increasing, who, arising superior to this prejudice, award to the colored man his due; but these are the exceptions. The kindness of the few no doubt mitigates the suffering inflicted by the many, and to some extent compensates the colored man for the loss of a recognized social position; but by the nation and the State he is proscribed, and by the multitude treated as an inferior and an outcast. While such is the case, I cannot cease to denounce the treatment of the colored people as a national crime—a damning sin against God, and a blasphemous insult against the workmanship of His hands. I want this assembly, by their reception of William W. Brown, to rebuke the people of Boston. I want every religious body in this country to refuse communion with the religious bodies of America, so long as the negro pew is tolerated, and the colored man is treated as a spotted leper. I want Christian England to call upon Christian America to put away both slavery and prejudice, to give personal freedom to the captives of the South, and social freedom to their colored brethren in the North, and to make atonement for the dreadful sin of having enslaved and proscribed the sublimest work of the Deity, and despised the priceless gem of an immortal soul, because it hath pleased its Divine Maker to deposit it in an ebony casket.

[Mr. Thompson resumed his seat amidst much cheering.]

A letter from the Rev. W. Brock, (who did not arrive until a late period of the evening,) addressed to Mr. Brown, was read to the meeting. After expressing his fear that a special engagement may prevent his being present, Mr. Brock says:—

'I beg you and the meeting to be assured of my thorough sympathy with the advocates of emancipation, whether in America or elsewhere. All slavery is abominable: American slavery is execrable. Perpetrated by the African pagan upon his neighbor, it is inhuman: perpetrated by the American Christian upon his brother in Christ, it is diabolical. I trust the doom of this accursed thing is sealed.'

Mr. Brown, on coming forward, was greeted with loud applause, which for a time prevented him from proceeding. He said he feared that the eulogy which his eloquent friend, Mr. Thompson, had heaped upon him, had raised the expectations of the meeting too high as regarded what they should hear from him that evening. To remove that impression, however, he would state, that he was nothing more nor less than an American slave, born and brought up under the 'peculiar institution' of America—(Hear and laughter;) having passed twenty years of his life in slavery, and making his escape from bondage without education, and never in fact having had a day's schooling up to the moment when he then appeared before them. Under such circumstances, the meeting he was sure would be ready to make all allowances for any defect that might be observable in his mode of address. (Cheers.) He presumed they had all heard something of that 'peculiar institution' of America from which he had so unceremoniously graduated. (Laughter.) In the first place, what was the slavery of the United States? So much was said about American democracy, American republicanism, American philanthropy, and American Christianity, that when American slavery was spoken of, people generally supposed that slavery, amid all those glorious institutions which they heard so much about, must be rather better than slavery in any other portion of the world. But what was the fact? Was it so? Why, the slave of the United States was a chattel; a thing, a saleable commodity, without any legal right to own himself, or to receive the avails of his labor; deprived of the privilege of protecting himself, his wife or children. He spoke not from theory or hearsay, but from actual experience, when he thus described the workings of the slave system in America. He was not only an American slave, but the son of an American slaveholder; and they would see in the latter fact another hideous feature of the damning system of slavery. (Hear, hear.) The slave in the United States was unprotected by law or public sentiment, and occupied the same position as a man's horse or dog. In St. Louis, from which he had escaped, the horse in fact received more protection than the slave, for if the quadruped was unmercifully beaten, an action might be brought against the man for the offence; but if a slave was flogged with however so much severity, a cry was immediately raised among the by-standers, 'Give it the nigger! give it him!' (Hear, hear.) If a slave feels that God has given him a right to occupy a higher position than merely toiling for the man who claims to own both his body and soul, and attempts to make his escape, the blood-hounds are put upon his track, and if caught, he is dragged back again into slavery, thrown into a dungeon, tortured, and finally sold from his wife and children, and sent to be worked upon a cotton, sugar, or rice plantation in Louisiana or Mississippi. (Hear.) The Constitution of the United States made a man in Boston a slaveholder in common with John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. Every citizen of the United States was bound by the Constitution of the country, in the event of the slaves attempting to get their liberty, to take up the musket and shoot down those poor slaves. The law of 1793 gave the slaveholders a right to go into the free States to catch slaves and drag them back again to bondage. Why, as to Boston, the citizens of that place, only six years ago, paid $400 for the purchase of George Latimer, as he was being dragged away, within the very sight of Bunker Hill, to slavery in Virginia. Another law forbade the men of Boston to feed escaped slaves under a penalty of $500, and the costs of prosecution. The Americans had introduced slavery into Mexico, where it had before been abolished, and were at that time attempting to get possession of Cuba, for the same purpose of extending the slave system. In Cuba, the American prejudice against color did not exist, and colored men were allowed to fill posts in the army and elsewhere. He had been refused a passport to come to Europe, which the American Secretary told him was never granted except to the servants of diplomatic agents, while at the same time a regular passport was granted to the boot-black of a slaveholding Judge who was going out as Consul to Naples.

Mr. Brown then narrated several glaring instances of prejudice against color, in confirmation of Mr. Thompson's assertion, which Mr. Jones had denied. In Rowe street church in Boston, which had not been built above two years, it was provided in the deed, that if a pew was sold to a colored man, the sale should be null and void. [A voice—'No prejudice against color in that, Mr. Jones!'] The same exclusive, degrading and persecuting system prevailed in regard to education, the children of colored persons being excluded from the common schools. [Hisses, and cries of 'Shame!'—'No prejudice in that, Mr. Jones!']

Allusion (said Mr. Brown) was made at the commencement of the meeting to the lamentable conduct of Father Mathew. [Hear, hear. A voice—'Give it him!' Laughter.] No one regrets more than I do that he should have thrown his influence into the scale of American slavery. [Hear, hear.] The circumstance proves, however, the baleful effects which slavery exerts over every individual who comes within the sphere of its influence. Here is a man who, in 1842, in conjunction with Daniel O'Connell, sent forth an address to America, signed by 70,000 Irishmen, calling upon their countrymen in the United States to take sides with the abolitionists, and have nothing at all to do with pro-slavery people, as far as their influence was concerned; telling them that the abolitionists were the friends of the negro, and calling upon them to join them heart and hand; and telling them, moreover, that they must not even keep neutral, for there was no neutral ground upon the anti-slavery platform. (Hear.) That man goes to America, breathes its corrupting air, and mark!—in a moment he is paralyzed; he can do nothing whatever for the poor slave whom he had before recommended to the zealous support of his countrymen in the United States. (Hear.) He was called upon by the slave, in the persons of the Anti-Slavery Committee, to attend a First of August meeting in celebration of that British West India Emancipation which he himself had labored to bring about. What was his reply? 'I cannot commit myself while in America.' (Loud groans, hisses, and marks of disapprobation.) The slave comes upon his bended knees to this Irish apostle, and tells him that his wife has been torn from him and carried into the most miserable bondage; reminds him, 'You called upon your Irish brethren in America to stand fast by the Abolitionists; we now only ask you to practice in America what you preached in Ireland.' He turns round and says, he cannot have anything at all to do with the anti-slavery work in America! (Hear.) And why? He had a few days before received an invitation from our slaveholding President to become his guest while visiting Washington. (Hear, hear, hear.) Yes, he had received an invitation to the White House, and he immediately throws himself and his influence into the hands of the slave power. Samson was never more thoroughly shorn of his physical strength by throwing himself into the lap of Delilah, than was Father Mathew shorn of his moral influence by his apostacy to the anti-slavery cause. (Loud cheers.) The man who in Ireland, seven years ago, said that slavery was a high-handed sin, has found out, since he has reached America, that there is nothing in Scripture against slaveholding. (Cries of 'Shame.') It might not be just in me to express my warm feelings upon that point, and therefore I will quote your own Cowper, who has said,

'Of all the arts sagacious dupes invent
To cheat themselves, and gain the world's assent,
The worst is Scripture warped from its intent.
Those men go wrong who with ingenious skill
Bend the straight rule to their own crooked will,
And with a clear and shining light supplied,
First put it out, then take it for their guide.'

(Cheers.) He (Mr. Brown) had been asked why he had come to England? His answer was, in the first place, that he might, for the first time in his life, stand upon a soil that was really free. (Cheers) He wanted to see the people who had knocked off the chains from 800,000 of his brethren in slavery. Oh, what a glorious atmosphere was England! Just the very breathing of it so expanded the limbs of the slave that the chains that had bound him for thirty years burst asunder! He wished that every slave and slaveholder in America could see that meeting. Another reason why he came to England was to agitate the question, and endeavor to build up public sentiment there so that Englishmen would say to Americans, 'If you wish to be thought of as other nations, never again send a slaveholder to represent you in the Court of St James.' He wanted a public sentiment raised up in England, which should point the finger of scorn at every slaveholder who dared to pollute its soil. The welcome which the people of England had extended to him (Mr. Brown) would be appreciated by the 3,000,000 slaves and the 600,000 colored freemen as an honor done to them. All men had not acted as Father Mathew had. There was one man, who, fifteen years ago, went from that country to America to agitate the question of slavery, and although he rose one morning and found, in the pious city of Boston, a gallows erected before his door, as a warning to him to stop agitation upon that subject, yet he refused to close his lips upon the question, and in the meeting that gave him (Mr. Brown) a farewell in Boston upon leaving America, three of the loudest, longest, and heartiest cheers that were given on that occasion, went up for that man—and that man was George Thompson! (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Mr. Brown concluded a long and most eloquent speech amidst reiterated cheers.

The following resolutions, drawn up by Mr. Farmer—the first moved by H. T. Atkinson, Esq., and seconded by W. H. Ashurst, Esq.; the second moved by D. McDonnell, Esq., and seconded by William Geesin, Esq.—were adopted with cordial unanimity:

Resolved, That this meeting tenders its warmest and most cordial congratulations to Mr. William Wells Brown upon his arrival in England, beyond the reach of the American man-stealer. That, animated by the common feeling of Englishmen, they indignantly repudiate the doctrine of the inferiority of the African race, and on behalf of this nation publicly give to Mr. Brown, as a representative of his oppressed people, an unreserved recognition of his right to perfect social, political and religious equality; a right received from the hands of his Creator, but of which he was impiously robbed by nominal Republicans and Christians in America. That having, in the providence of God, achieved his own deliverance from slavery, and resolved to consecrate the emancipated energies of his mind, and the influence of his moral character, to the cause of the redemption of his three million brethren in bonds, this meeting welcomes him to the metropolis of England, and bids him Godspeed in his holy mission on both sides of the Atlantic.

Resolved, That in the deliberate and solemn judgment of this meeting, the claim of property in man, either as practically asserted in the slave States of the American Union, or as conventionally abetted in the free, is a fearful invasion of the prerogatives of God, and wholly incompatible with the religion of Christ, whether professed by individuals or communities. That while anxiously desirous of rendering a full and respectful acknowledgment of whatever is honorable in the national character of a people having a common origin with themselves, the requirements of truth and justice demand from Englishmen a sorrowful but emphatic declaration, that the constitutional and legislative establishment of slavery, in any country, is a virtual destruction of its claim to be regarded by the world as a really free, independent and enlightened nation. That this meeting cordially sympathises with the self-sacrificing efforts of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and expresses a fervent hope that its exertions may speedily issue in the removal of this national stigma from the American character.

CHRISTIAN INQUIRER'S VIEW OF SLAVEHOLDING.

The following extract is from the Boston correspondent of the (New York) Christian Inquirer, and occurs in a brief notice of the recent Report on Slavery published by authority of the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers:

'The slaveholder cannot fully carry out the spirit of the religion he professes, however much disposed so to do; and 'there are obligations implied in the doctrines and precepts of the gospel which it is impossible for slaves to fulfil.' How far either party are morally guilty for this position of inability, is another and very different matter from the unquestionable fact that the terms and conditions of their mutual relation utterly forbid them from being, *in that relation*, disciples of Christ; just as on the battle-field the most religious soldier *cannot* keep the 'second commandment.''

The above was doubtless intended and thought to be a very strong and bold utterance against the sin of slaveholding. It is from a journal which presents itself as the the vehicle of the highest Christian thought and purest morality! And yet observe the extreme caution with which every sentence is qualified that might imply the *guilt* of slaveholding; how dexterously is every word avoided that might convey a faithful wound to the slaveholder's conscience! It is lamentable that this writer could not let his declaration stand, that *slavery, by its very conditions, utterly forbids both master and slave from being disciples of Christ*, without proceeding to dilute its meaning and quite destroy its force by his talk about the 'religious soldier,' and the 'religion' of the 'slaveholder.' These expressions are in positive contradiction of the other. What does this writer mean by the *religion* of a man who cannot be a *disciple of Christ*, or who *cannot* obey one of the fundamental laws of Christ's and of all true religion?—M.

ARRIVAL OF THE CALEDONIA.

This steamer arrived at East Boston on Friday last, bringing dates seven days later than those before received.

'The news is of an uninteresting character. Business matters remain about the same as noticed last week, and the political intelligence is quite unimportant. The weather throughout England has been generally fine and warm, and the harvest is more productive than the general average of years throughout the whole country. The only drawback on this satisfactory state of things is the undeniable mischief which is now developing in the potatoes, and thus far it is quite impossible to give the limits of the mischief so far as it has spread.

The mortality from cholera continues daily to decline.

A new Club called the National Reform Club has been established in London. The prospectus of a loan having been issued in the London papers by the Russian Government, Mr. Cobden comes out and denounces in strong terms this attempt to levy upon the earnings of peaceful industry the means of paying Haynau and his Croats for their butcheries in Brescia and their atrocities in Hungary. He says there is not a friend or adviser of the oppressed and slandered Magyars or Italians who will not press forward to swell the chorus of execration at this audacious proposal to borrow money from the European public with which to pay the price of successful violence and injustice.

The presentation of a medal to Robert B. Forbes, Esq., of Boston, took place at Lloyd's on the 26th September, as a mark of the sense entertained of his disinterested conduct, when on board the European steamer as a passenger, in leaping overboard at great personal risk, and assisting in saving a part of the passengers of the Charles Bartlett, when that vessel was unhappily run down by the Europa, the 22d June last.

Ireland. Disturbances of the most unruly kind, and secret confederacies, are the order of the day. The potato disease is said to exist to a very great extent.

The report has been put forward by the Limerick Examiner, that a conditional pardon had been granted by the government to John Mitchell, leaving him at liberty to go where he pleased, but restraining him from returning to the United Kingdom. It is added, that he intends settling in Germany, where his wife and children have been for some time past.

Rome.—All is uncertainty, and wholesale arrests take place without the observation of legal forms. Every one sees a crisis impending, but whether it will be for good or evil, is doubtful. The misery of the people increases daily, and with it their hatred of the priests. A new journal, intended to be the organ of the pure pontifical party has appeared.

France.—M. de Girardin, of La Presse, has so far recanted his peace principles, as to declare himself the adversary of a general disarmament.

It is said that the government is dismissing quietly but extensively, all the functionaries appointed by M. M. Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, and Cavaignac, and replacing them by the old servants of Louis Phillippe.

Two Trains Daily between Albany and Boston and New York and Boston.—We are informed that on and after the 8th of next month there will be run over the Boston and Worcester and Western railroads, two through trains daily, (Sundays excepted,) from Albany, leaving that city at 8, A. M., and 3, P M., and arriving in Boston at 6 and 11 1-2 P. M. Trains will also leave New York at the same hours as Albany, and arrive at Boston at the same time.—*Journal.*

Judge Hart, of Cincinnati, lately caused the 'criminal box' to be taken out of court, on the ground that no man need be disgraced before he is found guilty of crime.

Great Riot in Philadelphia. A great riot took place in Philadelphia on Tuesday night, Oct. 9. It seems that there is a tavern called the California House, at the corner of Sixth and St. Mary's streets, which is kept by a mulatto who has a white wife. This excited the indignation of a band of rowdies, who made a rush down towards the neighborhood, with a furniture car containing a blazing tar barrel. An attack upon the house was feared, and as the crowd passed, stones were thrown and pistols were discharged. Of course the mob became exasperated, and proceeded to attack the house, which was defended by the negroes, many of whom were armed. The assailants finally made an entrance into the house, and set it on fire, compelling the inmates to fly. The fire companies arrived and tried to put out the flames, but were driven off by the rioters, who pelted them with stones. The fire spread, burning a number of houses. The police were driven off; and the mob prevented the companies from putting out the fire, and at last fired, killing a member of the Good Will Company, named Charles Himmelwright, a very estimable man. The signal for the military was given, and there was soon a suspension of hostilities.

A new riot began in the morning about six o'clock, the mob attacking the firemen with stones and fire-arms. The police made some arrests, and then the military approached, when the rioters retired and quiet was restored. About a dozen persons were shot, two or three of them mortally wounded. A number of arrests have been made.

Every thing has been quiet in the late troubled district since Wednesday.

Incendiarism at Chelsea.—The inhabitants of the town of Chelsea have been in a state of much excitement for several days past, in consequence of a succession of incendiary fires, the first of which commenced on Saturday evening last, when a fire was discovered in the attic of the new unoccupied house, corner of Essex and Shawmut streets, owned by Mr. Samuel Morrison. The upper part of the building was damaged to a considerable amount. The loss is fully covered by insurance at the Norwich office. On Sunday evening, the house of Mr. Henry J. Darling, on Mount Bellingham street, was set on fire, and the interior of the building was destroyed. Partly insured at the Firemen's office. The Journal states that soon after this, the Planing Mill, Box and Pump Factory of Mr. Wm. G. Clark, situated on the Salem turnpike, was discovered to be on fire, but the flames were speedily extinguished with but little damage to the premises. Several other incendiary fires have occurred, one of which was a second fire at Clark's Planing Mill, which was soon destroyed. Loss $5000. Insurance $2000. Several mechanics are sufferers to a considerable amount by this last fire. In addition to the incendiary fires, several citizens have been assaulted by gangs of ruffianess villains, who seem to have made Chelsea their head-quarters.

Annexation in Canada. Montreal, Oct. 15.—The French Canadians have taken up the annexation question, and are determined to support the movement. The loyalists have got up an opposition, which has increased the excitement. The removal of the seat of government to Toronto is now considered certain—the more so since the publication of the declaration in favor of annexation.

Another writer says—

A declaration in favor of annexation to the United States has been drawn up, and in the short space of five hours received the signatures of 300 of our first merchants, landholders and professional men, including two members of Parliament and two of the Queen's Counsel. In fact, there seems to be a very general feeling and sentiment in favor of the measure.

Senator Walker, of Wisconsin, has issued a long address to the people of that State in reply to the charge of having violated his pledges and instructions on the subject of slavery in the territories. He denies that any act or vote of his, in the U. S. Senate, would favor the impression that he is favorable to the extension of slavery.

☞ Mrs. Frances Ann Kemble will give three 'Readings' from Shakspeare before the Boston Mercantile Library Association, this winter.

SIXTEENTH

National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

The Committee of the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar, deeply feeling their responsibility to the holy cause of freedom and humanity with which they are identified, have resolved anew to make their exertions for its promotion correspond with the greatness of its demands, and the rapidity of its progress.

It is unnecessary, at this late day, to enter upon any formal exposition of the principles and measures of the American A. S. Society, to the support of which the funds resulting from this effort are devoted. The language of our last year's Call will express better than any other, our present convictions of its necessity and value. 'Years of close observation of its righteous principles and uncompromising practical workings, assure us that it has the elements of success. It continually sends forth lecturers to enforce the principles of justice and humanity among the people, and in a few years is found thereby to have exercised a controlling influence for good throughout the country. It dictates the course and bends the policy of every political party; and speaking as it does from a height above their selfish personal struggles, its words of everlasting truth are heard, and more and more obeyed. . . . It has no local attachments, no partizan or sectarian partialities; no hidden aim, no double purpose.' With this Society, in a word, rests the hope of the American Slave. Its continuance and increased success, the number of its agents, and the circulation of its periodicals, depend greatly on the amount of funds which we, through this yearly effort, are enabled to place at its disposal.

We regard the importance of the American Anti-Slavery Society as paramount to that of any other Anti-Slavery organization, and of course its claims for help and sympathy paramount to those of any other. Boston and its environs, indeed, supply us with a market; but with a trifling exception, barely sufficient to remunerate the expense of Anti-Slavery advertisements, not a cent of our receipts is expended in Massachusetts. In sustaining the cause in her own borders, she asks no aid from beyond them, but relies entirely on her own efforts.

These being our circumstances, we appeal to Abolitionists every where, earnestly invoking of each aid and assistance proportionate alike to the dignity and necessity of the work we have undertaken. We are laboring for the establishment of those foundation principles on which the rights of all men must of necessity rest. Therefore to all we appeal, in confidence on that common human heart, whose unsophisticated instincts furnish our best hope of success.

The Sixteenth National Anti-Slavery Bazaar will be held in Boston during Christmas week, and all desiring to co-operate with us are requested to communicate with the undersigned.

ANNE WARREN WESTON,
M. W. CHAPMAN,
ELIZA L. FOLLEN,
ANN T. G. PHILLIPS,
SUSAN M. CABOT,
CATHARINE SARGENT,
HENRIETTA SARGENT,
THANKFUL SOUTHWICK,
HARRIET B. HALL,
SARAH N. SOUTHWICK,
LOUISA LORING,
MARY MAY,
SARAH S. RUSSELL,
ANN R. BRAMHALL,
HELEN E. GARRISON,
MARIA LOWELL,
ABBY FRANCIS,
HARRIET T. WHITE,
MARY GRAY CHAPMAN,
SARAH B. SHAW,
FRANCES MARY ROBBINS,
CAROLINE WESTON,
ELIZA F. EDDY,
LYDIA D. PARKER,
ELIZABETH GAY,
CAROLINE F. WILLIAMS,
EVELINA A. S. SMITH,
HANNAH TUFTS,
HARRIET M. PALMER,
MARY WILLEY.

OLD COLONY A. S. SOCIETY.

A semi-monthly meeting of the Old Colony A. S. Society will be holden in the Town Hall at Abington, on Sunday, Oct. 28th, 1849, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continue through the day and evening.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison will be present on the occasion. 'A word to the wise is sufficient.'

BOURNE SPOONER, *Pres.*
H. H. Brigham, *Sec.*
South Abington, Oct. 16, 1849.

WORCESTER COUNTY (SOUTH DIVISION) ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A quarterly meeting of this Society will be held at Millville and Blackstone, on Saturday and Sunday, October 27 and 28. It will commence in Millville on Saturday, at 2 o'clock, P. M., and continue there that evening. On Sunday morning and afternoon, the meeting will be held in Blackstone Town Hall; and again at Millville on Sunday evening.

We trust that the members of the Society will give a prompt attendance. The names of speakers will be given next week.

EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, *President.*
John C. Wyman, *Secretary.*

LUCY STONE,

An Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:

Walpole,	Saturday,	October	20.
East Walpole,	Sunday,	"	21.
Medfield,	Tuesday,	"	23.
Dedham,	Wednesday,	"	24.
Needham,	Thursday,	"	25.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.

Henry Box Brown and Charles Stearns will hold anti-slavery meetings as follows:—

Mansfield,	Friday evening,	October	19.
Attleboro',	Saturday "	"	20.
Advent Meeting House, Wrenthan,	Sunday, P. M.		
N. Attleboro,'	Sunday evening,	October	21.
Pawtucket,	Monday "	"	22.
Providence,	Tuesday "	"	23.
Olneyville,	Wednesday "	"	24.
Blackstone,	Thursday "	"	25.
Uxbridge,	Friday "	"	26.
Mendon,	Saturday "	"	27.

NOTICE.

The *Green Plain (Ohio) Yearly Meeting of Friends*, who have adopted the Congregational order, will commence on seventh day, the 27th of the 10th mo., 1849. All persons who love the promotion of practical goodness will find a welcome in our councils. We meet not to lengthen the cords of sect, but to exercise our religious sentiment in the diffusion of principles that shall hasten the overthrow of oppression and violence in the land. Several distinguished strangers are expected to be present.

Selma, Clark Co., Ohio.

Female Medical School,

BOSTON.

Conducted by the American Medical Education Society; Enoch C. Rolfe, M. D., Lecturer. The third term of instruction in Midwifery will commence Nov. 1, 1849, and continue three months. Tuition, $25, in advance. Address or apply to the Secretary of the Society.

SAMUEL GREGORY,
Sept. 28 3t 26 Cornhill.

S. H. LLOYD'S

Daguerreotype Rooms,

11 1-2 Tremont Row,
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(Up only two flights of stairs.)

Likenesses executed in ANY weather, and neatly put up in Cases, Lockets, Frames, &c. Prices reasonable, and within the reach of all, varying according to the style of the cases, &c.

Possessing an excellent light, and every facility for carrying on the business, he invites his friends, and all who may be wishing Daguerreotypes of themselves or friends, to call and examine specimens.

Entire satisfaction given, or the pictures not to be taken.

N. B. Instruction given in the art, and apparatus, &c., furnished. May 4

BOOKS.

Narrative of the Life of William W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave. Written by himself. Complete edition, tenth thousand. Price 25 cts.

Anti-Slavery Harp: a collection of Songs for Anti-Slavery Meetings. Compiled by Wm. W. Brown. Second edition. Price 12 1-2 cts.

Memoir of Rev. Abel Brown, by his Companion, C. S. Brown—62 1-2 cts.

Despotism in America. 4th edition—25 cts.

Archy Moore, 25 cts.

The Church as it is; or the Forlorn Hope of Slavery, by Parker Pillsbury. Second edition—revised and improved—15 cts.

History of the Mexican War; or Facts for the People, showing the relation of the United States Government to Slavery. Compiled from official and authentic Documents. By Loring Moody—20 cts.

Liberty Minstrel (Clark's) 50 cts.

Mr. Parker's Sermon of the Moral and Spiritual Condition of Boston—15 cts.

Revelations, &c. By A. J. Davis, the Clairvoyant—2 00; Davis's Chart, 1 50.

Christian Non-Resistance, by Adin Ballou—38 cts.

A Review of the Causes and Consequences of the Mexican War. By William Jay—75 cts.

The Maniac and other Poems, by George S. Burleigh—75 cts.

Charles Sumner's Oration: The True Grandeur of Nations, best edition, at the reduced price of 12 1-2 cents; and many other valuable anti-slavery Works, together with a good assortment of Books on Physiology, Phrenology, and the Water Cure.

For sale by BELA MARSH, No. 25 Cornhill.
June 15. 6mo.

Anti-Sabbath Publications.

Proceedings of the Anti-Sabbath Convention held at the Melodeon, Boston, March 23d and 24th; containing the speeches of Charles C. Burleigh, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, John W. Browne, Theodore Parker, Henry C. Wright, Lucretia Mott, Parker Pillsbury, Samuel May, Jr., and John M. Spear; together with an exhibition of the spirit of the Clergy and the religious press. Also embodying the views of Luther, Malancthon, Tyndale, Calvin, Barclay Dymond, Paley, and Archbishop Whately, as to the Jewish nature of the Sabbath. The whole making a very neat and compact pamphlet of 168 pages. Price, 25 cents single; five copies for one dollar; 2 00 per dozen. Every friend of human progress should endeavor to procure a copy of this pamphlet, and to circulate it far and wide. For sale by BELA MARSH, 25 Cornhill, and also at 21 Cornhill.

August 23 tf

INTELLIGENCE OFFICE.

M. M. TAYLOR

Would respectfully inform the citizens of Roxbury, Boston and vicinity, that he has recently opened an Office, for the purpose of carrying on the above business, in all its various branches, on DUDLEY STREET, ROXBURY, two or three doors above the Norfolk House.

☞ *No money received unless a situation is procured.*

Servants of every kind supplied with good places in respectable families, and families supplied with servants, both in the city and country, at short notice, and on reasonable terms.

Roxbury, May 18, 1849.

FOR SALE

AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE,
21 Cornhill,

Memoirs of Fowell Buxton

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

THE PINE TREES.

I.

Bright, in the west, the sunset skies are gleaming
Through rifted clouds of purple, red, and gold;
On the white snow, in radiant glory streaming
Through the clear air of evening, gray and cold.
Fair stalwart Pines! upon your foliage, beaming
On your bright green, the sunset rays unfold;
Still, as in time departed, bright and golden,
Gilding your stately strength, erect though olden.

II.

All else has faded; but your verdure wearing,
Still on the snow ye cast your greenest shade;
The Beautiful, time's slow decay is sharing,
And noblest Life is sad and lowly laid:—
But still ye live, with proud and ancient bearing,
When mouldering ruins, round you, time has made,
Even as *they* lived of old, erect, unswerving;
Firm in the Right—from ill our land preserving.

III.

Calm be their rest, in life's great toil grown hoary;
Sweet be their sleep; their spirit's rest serene;
They left proud life-deeds for our country's story,
That live, though *they* are faded from the scene;
Still bloom the Pine-Trees, in unfading glory,
Our land's true type, they keep their memories green,
And, on the mournful wind of sad December,
Their voices, speaking softly, breathe 'Remember.'

IV.

O'er a free land are their free branches waving?
Is Freedom changed since the days of yore?
Is Justice fearlessly Oppression braving,
And loved and honored still is Truth's dear lore?
Does Virtue silence mad Ambition's craving?
And, scorning Party, do we Right adore?
Than love of Fame, is love of country nearer;
Its blood-stained laurel—than our Pine Trees dearer?

V.

Fair emblems of the true New England feeling,
Your noble forms still stand in sunset glow,
True types of virtues from our country stealing,
To leave, unseen, maturing shapes of woe;
The flight of time a sadder change revealing
O'er every heart, a pall of gloom to throw—
Still bloom, fair Pine-Trees, till the morning breaking
Sees our land's sons again to Freedom waking.

ARAMIS.

Boston, Mass.

From the New York Tribune.

AWAKE TO EFFORT.

BY MRS. SARAH T. BOLTON.

'The night cometh when no man can work.'

Awake to effort while the day is shining:
The time to labor will not always last,
And no regret, repentance, nor repining,
Can bring to us again the buried Past.
The silent sands of life are falling fast;
Time tells our busy pulses one by one;
And shall our work, so needful and so vast,
Be all completed, or but just begun,
When twilight's shadows veil Life's dim, departing sun?

What duties have our idle hands neglected?
What useful lesson have we learned and taught?
What warmth, what radiance have our minds reflected?
What rich and rare materials have we brought
For deep investigation, earnest thought?
Concealed, within the soul's unfathomed mine,
How many a sparkling gem remains unwrought,
That Industry might place on Learning's shrine,
Or lavish on the world, to further God's design?

The smallest bark on Life's tumultuous ocean
Will leave a track behind forevermore;
The lightest wave of influence, set in motion,
Extends and widens to the eternal shore.
We should be wary, then, who go before
A myriad yet to be, and we should take
Our bearing carefully, when breakers roar,
And fearful tempests gather; one mistake
May wreck unnumbered barks that follow in our wake.

To effort! ye whom God has nobly gifted
With that prevailing power, undying Song:
For Human Good let every pen be lifted;
For Human Good let every heart be strong.
Is there no crying sin, no grievous wrong
That ye may help to weaken or repress?
In wayside hut and hovel, 'midst the throng
Down-trodden by privation and distress,
Is there no tricken heart that ye can cheer and bless?

Sing idle lays to idle harps no longer:
Go, peal an anthem at the gate of Heaven—
Exertion makes the fainting spirit stronger,—
Sing, till the bonds of Ignorance are riven,
Till dark Oppression from the earth is driven.
Sing, till, from every land and every sea,
One universal triumph song is given,
To hail the long-expected jubilee,
When every bond is broke, and every vassal free.

And ye, whose birthright is the glorious dower
Of Eloquence, to thrill the immortal soul,
Use not unwisely the transcendent power
To waken, guide, restrain, direct, control
The heart's deep, deep emotions; let the goal
Of your ambition be, a name enshrined
By love and gratitude upon the scroll,
Where generations yet unborn shall find
The deathless deeds of those who loved and blest mankind.

Go, rouse the mighty energies that slumber
Unknown, unnumbered, in the world's great heart;
Remove the stubborn errors that encumber
The fields of Science, Literature and Art;
Rend Superstition's darkening veil apart,
And hurl to earth blind Bigotry, the ban
From which a thousand grievous evils start,
To thwart and mar the great Creator's plan,
And break the ties that bind the Brotherhood of Man.

And ye, who sit aloft in earth's high places,
Perchance amid your wealth ye scarcely know
That Want and Wo are leaving fearful traces
Upon the toiling multitude below:
From your abundance can ye not bestow
A mite to smooth the thorny paths they tread?
Have ye no sympathy with human wo?
No ray of blessed hope and joy to shed
Upon the weary hearts that pine and toil for bread?

Amid the gorgeous splendor that bedizens
Your palaces, no longer idly stand,
While dens of wickedness and loathsome prisons
Arise like blighting plague-spots o'er the land.
Go, speak a word, and lend a helping hand
To rescue men from Degradation's thrall,
Nor deem a just and righteous God has banned
The toiling millions, while the rain-drops fall,
And blessed sunbeams shine from heaven alike for all.

Indianapolis, August, 1849.

CHRISTIAN AND SLANDER.

Ne'er will ten thousand lies
Make one less virtuous, learned or wise;
The most effectual way to balk
Their malice is, to let them talk.

Reformatory.

GOVERNMENT.

LONDON, 6th Sept., 1849.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR:

DEAR SIR,—Dr. Brooke, of Ohio, thus writes me a letter which I see in the Liberator of the 25th June:

'I would that Edward Search could be induced seriously to investigate a source from whence the right proceeds to found human governments, and to describe the source, and define the limitations and the extensions of the right in a letter to the Liberator. That man has a right to govern himself, I will agree; and more, that it is his duty to do it. But I wish to be shown what right an individual possesses to govern another. And if, upon inquiry, it shall be found that I have not the right to govern Edward Search and Wm. L. Garrison, and if these two have neither the right to govern the other, nor to rule me, I wish to be informed how Garrison and Search may come together and delegate to an official the right to prescribe a code of laws for me which neither of them, as individuals, has a right to impose on me. Who expects the stream to rise above the fountain that supplies it?

'Perhaps an analysis of human rights, thus conducted, might persuade our foreign friend to be not fully almost, but altogether a non-resistant.'

Will you allow me to say to friend Brooke, that I think I have, as well as I am able, investigated this source for my own government; but it is one thing to do this for our own use, and another thing to set it forth in a way satisfactory to the minds of others; and above all, to set it forth within the compass of a letter. My experience has taught me, that to write shortly upon a subject having man and his duties for its object, can only be done satisfactorily by comprehensive and rarely-gifted minds, and I do not pretend that I am competent to write *ex cathedra*. I have never sat in the chair of authority upon such matters, and should be sorry to assume to speak as one having authority.

I think that Dr. Brooke relieves me in some degree from the chance of being called presumptuous, by the admission he makes, 'that man has a right to govern himself, and that it his duty to do it. But I wish,' he adds, 'to be shown what right an individual has to govern another.' This does not appear to me to involve a great difficulty.

Man, in his childhood, is subjected by his Maker to human government, and in a state of society, grows into manhood under it.

Let us imagine the point of time to have arrived at which the youth becomes adolescent. Either the new member must yield to the Government, or the Government must yield to him.

Governors are men appointed to administer the laws.

Government is the administration of the laws.

Governmental power is rightly exercised when it is possessed by the consent of the community.

Suppose, then, a Government so constituted is in existence—

What would Dr. Brooke have done?

Either in any matter which conflicts with the happiness of society, or the happiness of its new member, society must give way to the new member, or the new member must yield to the existing Government. When the next period for reconstituting government arrives, he having arrived at maturity, will be asked for his suffrage and vote for those whom he thinks best fitted. It is admitted that it is his duty to govern himself; this conceded, the whole question is conceded. All his duties are personal, those which relate to his neighbor as well as those which relate to himself; this admission implies that government of some sort is wanted. He is bound, as a being with reason, to choose the best means of governing himself. Those who object to be governed by self-chosen officers, yet admit the duty of governing themselves, admit the whole question, and cut away their own foundation. After that concession—and it is a just concession—the question of principle is converted into a question of mode, and the discussion as to the principle is at an end. Suppose the objector should say—'I don't like a given mode;' that devolves upon him the necessity of pointing out a better. I submit to Dr. Brooke, that a man who is consulted, and has the opportunity of voting as to matters which are to rule the common interest, is self-governed. If he says—'But I will not vote, I will not take part in constituting a government,' then I submit, that he fails to discharge that duty which Dr. Brooke admits, and I think properly, it is incumbent upon him, as an individual, to discharge. The duty of governing himself being admitted, that duty involves self-government in the discharge of his social as well as his personal and individual duties.

Man is a compound being, having selfish and social elements united in his organization, and, if it be admitted that he is bound to govern himself, he cannot get rid of the obligation of discharging his social, any more than his other duties.

Man does not get rid of his duty by refusing to discharge it; he only thereby becomes disobedient. If he says, 'I refuse obedience because I disagree with the mode, he is bound to point out a better. He has a right to object, but no right to justify his negligence by merely objecting. If he claims a right to stand still, all others have the same right; and as God works out the happiness of man through the agency of man, how is the duty to be discharged if all are inactive? It follows from this reasoning, I submit, that if a man refuses to act upon the representative system, and to discharge his duties through a socially constituted agency, he is bound not only to show another, but a better way; and not only to show a better way, but to convince the majority that it is a better way; or else the minority must rule the majority; or all must stand still.

Upon the subject of non-resistance, I purpose to say a few words, in a note to Henry C. Wright.

I am, yours faithfully,

EDWARD SEARCH.

'GREAT CRY.'

Look at the noble deed of Theobald Mathew, ye Northern craven souls! See him, in Cork, extend to Frederick Douglass the generous sympathy which wronged and outraged men and women need to strengthen them and give them courage! Was not Theobald's philanthropy all unexampled? Let us see.

Was it a 'fugitive slave' that Mr. Mathew entertained in the person of Frederick Douglass? Is there any law in Ireland which recognizes chattelism? Was the 'good priest' under any legal obligation to return the 'fugitive' to Thomas Auld? Or, did he render himself obnoxious to any existing law, any where, by this common act of civility? There is a law in America favorable to the slave-hunter and the bloodhound. But this law, in its majesty, is content to remain within the American 'union' of slave States and 'free.' It has its limits, beyond which it may not pass. The Southern slaveholder does not essay to go beyond the Constitutional creed of Henry Clay. The sneaking Unitarian wing of the American Church in 'free' Massachusetts, in its pious, pro-slavery zeal and devotion to the 'sacred compromises' of the infernal Constitution, goes thus far, and seeks not to go farther. Hear its clerical Committee:

'We do not deny, but acknowledge, the *legal* right of property in slaves. We admit that is property, for the time being, which the law declares to be property. We would not counsel interference with the slaveholders in the exercise of the right, *as long as it exists.*'

[Verily, if such men are 'kings and priests unto God,' Satan must be sadly lonesome!]

I say, then, Theobald Mathew never entertained a 'fugitive *slave*.' If, in Ireland, Frederick was a 'fugitive,' he was a *fugitive* FREEMAN. In Ireland, he was no longer a fugitive. To use his own language—'His shackles had fallen—he *breathed*—he was FREE!'

The friends of the 'Great Apostle' cannot make capital out of the incident. The attempt to do so was all moonshine, or something less. Every body knows, or ought to know, that the act was no proof of his 'anti-slavery.' It may be more justly termed a proof of his love of popularity. It was not in his power to perform a more popular act. Not a man in all the British domain, from Victoria's prime minister down to the meanest beggar, but might be proud to entertain Frederick Douglass. I despise 'humbug'!

OLD COLONY.

Miscellaneous.

From the London Daily News.

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC DEFENDED.

LETTER OF MAZZINI TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

TO MESSIEURS DE TOCQUEVILLE AND DE FALLOUX, MINISTERS OF FRANCE:

GENTLEMEN,—If in your speeches in the Assembly, on the 6th and 7th of August, you had restricted yourselves to calumniating *me*, I should have been silent. Throughout my life, I have never felt any thing but indifference to calumny, and contempt for the calumniators. But you have calumniated an entire revolution, holy in its right, and pure from all excess in its career; a whole people, good, brave, and remarkable for the attachment to order, and for the capability of discipline which it has inherited from its ancestors. You have, to serve your own ends—you men of study and calm philosophy,—repeated at the tribune the same commonplaces of 'anarchy,' 'foreign faction,' and 'terror,' with which the journalists, hired to prepare the way for an iniquitous expedition, systematically fed the public mind for the space of two months. You have deliberately, with the smile of irony on your lips, cast the slanders of reaction upon those who have died for their awakening country. It is necessary, for the honor of humanity, that some one should protest. It is necessary, not for you, not for a parliamentary majority from which, under the influence of egotism and brute force, all moral sense has departed, but for those among you who suffer as we suffer for their lost liberty, and for the future of France, that the voice of one honest man should be heard, and should say to you—'Gentlemen, your eloquence is artifice, your faith hypocrisy; throughout the whole series of your declarations, you have done nothing but lie to France and to Europe. If there is any thing viler than the executioner, it is he who insults the corpse, who deals a blow, like that of her valet upon the pale cheek of Charlotte Corday.' I come forward, therefore, to protest in the name of Rome. I know men who, for the honor of France, ought now to do what I am doing: they are the employes of your chancellerie at Rome,* whom I have seen blush at the conduct of their Government, and who thanked me for the protection afforded them, and for the admirable conduct of the Roman people: but they fear dismissal from their posts. I know others—these—these belong to us—who from Rome itself, in the face of sacerdotal vengeance, would now willingly protest against your calumnies; but your foreseeing administration has deprived them of the only means of so doing, by suppressing every journal in Rome except your own.†

Rome was without a sovereign. The Pope had deserted and fled to Gaeta. A Government Commission which he had instituted had refused to act. Two deputations, sent one after the other, entreating Pius IX. to return, were repulsed. It was necessary to put an end to a state of things which was inevitably leading to anarchy and civil war. It was at 1 o'clock on the morning of the 9th of February that the downfall of the temporal power, and, as a consequence, the inauguration of the Republic, were proclaimed. By whom? By the Constituent Assembly of the Roman States. In what manner had that Assembly been elected? By universal suffrage. Had there been—I speak not of terror—but even any agitation, any influence illegally exercised? No; all had taken place calmly, quietly, without corruption, without threats. Was the minority imposing? Out of *one hundred and forty-four* members present, *eleven* voices declared against the proclamation of the Republic as inopportune; *five* against the abolition of the temporal power. How many among those whom you now stigmatize as *foreigners*, how many Italians born out of the Roman States, were then seated upon the benches of the Assembly? *Two*—Garibaldi and General Ferrara. I deceive myself—Garibaldi had already set out for Rieti. It was not until some time later that Saliceti, Cernuschi, Cannonieri, Dall, Ongaro and myself were elected. In what manner was the double proclamation received by the population? Was there, through all the extent of the Roman territory, a single attempt at resistance, a single mark of dissent, a single protestation in favor of the fallen power? No, not one. A few *carbiniers* on the frontiers of Naples deserted, perhaps imagining themselves compromised by the arrests they had been obliged to make under Gregory. And this was all. The towns and the country saluted the Republic with a common joy. The old Municipalities, elected under the Papal regeune, sent in their adhesion, since renewed by those elected by universal suffrage on the 11th of March. Pius IX. had still some personal friends—the Papal Government could not boast of one. And later on, after the 30th, when the Government, on the eve of the quadruple invasion, was obliged to concentrate its forces, and could therefore retain only a moral influence in the provinces—in the midst of the financial crisis, and in spite of the efforts of some few reactionaries, this, the conservative element of the State, renewed again the testimony of a spontaneous adhesion to the Republic. Bologna, Ancona, Perugia, Civita Vecchia, Ferrara, Ascoli, Cesena, Fano, Faenza, Forli, Feligno, Macerata, Narni, Pesaro, Orvioto, Ravenna, Rieti, Viterbo, Spoleto, Urbino, Terni; two hundred and sixty-three Municipalities sent addresses, declaring, in the name of the populations, that the abolition of the temporal power and the existence of the Republic formed henceforth a double condition of life for the Roman States.

The Constituent Assembly, consisting of 150 members, the *elite* of the country, by the instincts of the heart, if not by the force of intelligence, and of whom seven only did not belong to the Roman States, kept their seats without interruption until the moment when brute force, in violating the duties and the promises of France, dissolved them. It had dictated or sanctioned every thing that had been done from the 9th of February till the 2d of July.

And by whom did they govern? First by an Executive Committee: two Romans, Armellini and Montecchi; one Neapolitan, Saliesti: afterward by the Triumvirate—the same proportion. But below the Supreme Executive, all that vivified and embodied the principle of government, all that represented or that affected the country in administration, in the distribution of offices, in the every-day affairs of State, was purely Roman. The President of the Council under the Executive Committee, Muzzarelli; the Minister of Grace and Justice, Sazzarini; that of Foreign Affairs, Rusconi; of the Interior, Saffi and Mayer; of Finance, Guillioli and Manzoni; of Public Works, Sterbini and Montecchi; of War, Campello and Calandrelli—all belonged to the Roman States. The Police (sicurizza pubblica) was successively directed by Mariani, Meucci, Meloni, and Gavagni, all Roman subjects. The Ministry of Public Instruction was intrusted to a Roman, Sturbinetti; other Romans were charged with the direction of the Public Debt, and of the Statistical Department, and with the Presidency of the High Court of Justice, the direction of the Hospitals, the Mint, &c. A Commission of seven, all Romans, Sturbinetti, Placentini, Salvati, Neucci, Allocatelli, Spada, Castellani, was named to examine all applications for employment. Not a single President, not a single *employe* or Government officer in the Provinces, who was not born a subject of the Roman State. Among all the superior officers successively appointed from the first to the last day of the Republic, I find but two men who were not born Romans—Avezzana, Minister of War, and Brambilla, a member of the Financial Committee—the latter of whom, however, had two fellow-officers who were Romans, Valentini and Constabili.

And the Army: The small army constructed in Rome at the time of the siege was composed of the first of the line, Colonel De Pasqualis; second ditto, Col. Gaucci Molari; third ditto, Col. Marchetti:—all these Romans, soldiers and officers. Two light regiments: The first commanded by Masi, the very man whom M. de Corcelles, in his dispatch of the 12th June, puts down as a foreigner, entirely Romans; the second, commanded by Pasi, the same. The Roman Legion, commanded by Galletti, the Riflemen, commanded by Mellare, since dead of his wounds; all Romans. The small body of the *Reduci*, Romans. The Battalion Bignami, Romans. The regiment called the Union, Romans. The body of Carbiniers, General Galletti, Romans. The Dragoons, Romans. The body of Engineers, Romans. The Artillery, Romans. All these, all the chiefs I have already named, the Colonels Pians, Amadel, Berti-Pichat, the General-in-Chief Roselli, the Chief Intendants, first Gaggiotti, and afterward Salvati, the principal *employes* at the Ministry of War, all Romans, representing the indigenous element.

Where, then, were the foreigners? Garibaldi and his legion, 800 men; Arcioni and his legion, 300 men; Manara dead for liberty, and his Lombard Riflemen, 500 men; 200 Poles; the foreign legion, 100 men; the handfull of brave men who defended the *Vasiello* under Medici. Altogether, 2,000 men; but not really so many, because Arcioni's legion contained at least one-third of Romagnoli, because the little knot of cavalry which formed part of Garibaldi's legion, and which was commanded by Masina of Bologna, dead on the field, were almost all Roman citizens, and because half even of the foot soldiers of Garibaldi belonged to the country.

The number of 'foreigners' who assisted in the defence of Rome was from 1,400 to 1,500 men, among a total of 14,000; for it is well that Italy should know that 14,000 men, a young army without traditions, and improvised under the very fire of the enemy, held in check for two months 30,000 soldiers of France. You know all this, gentlemen, or you *could* have known it, and therefore you *ought* to have done so; and nevertheless, you shamelessly gave out to the Assembly the number of 'foreigners' as 20,000, as a proof that, after all, it was not the Roman idea that you had endeavored to stifle in blood; and upon this cipher of your own invention depends the greater part of your argument. Foreigners! I entreat pardon of my country for having inscribed the word, after you, upon my page. What! Lombards, Tuscans, Italians, foreigners at Rome! And it is by you, Frenchmen, by you, who, in re-establishing the Pontifical throne, have been supported by Austrians and Spaniards, that this reproach is made. A year ago our Provinces sent the *elite* of their youth to fight upon the plains of Lombardy, as to a Convention of honor; but I do not remember that Radetzky ever called them in his proclamations *foreigners*. The absolute denial of Italian nationality has been reserved for the nephew of him who, at St. Helena, uttered these words—'*Unity of manners, of language, of literature, shows that Italy is destined to form one single country.*'

The accusation of violence, of a reign of terror, directed against the Republican Government, is an accusation to which the lie is now solemnly given by the facts of our defence. The armed enthusiasm of a whole people is not to be commanded by terror;* and you are compelled, gentlemen, either to calumniate the valor of the French arms, or to confute your own statements—to declare that a *few* factious individuals were not only able to restrain a population of 160,000 souls, but also, for two months, to contend with and conquer your army; or, in order to preserve yourselves from the stains of imbecility and cowardice, to confess that the Government, the People, the National Guard, and the army of Rome, were all united together as brothers in the common idea of liberty and of war to the enemies of the Republic. It is necessary to speak of this, so that, at least, you cannot repeat the absurd accusation without others being able to reply, *yours is a premeditated lie.*

Pass by the assassination of Rossi, which has been so often and so hypocritically cited. The Republic inaugurated on the 9th of February, 1849, has no occasion to exculpate itself from a deed which occurred on the 15th of November, 1848, when the princely party, the *moderates*, the partisans of Charles Albert, possessed the field, and drove away, or condemned to absolute silence, the men of the republican faith. No one in Italy accuses your revolutions of having had their rise in assassination, because the Duke of Berri fell by the dagger, and five or six attempts at regicide succeeded each other in the space of two years in Paris. Mark the acts which, in every time, and in every place, accompany every system supported by violence. During nearly five months of Republican Government, can you, gentlemen, point out *a single* condemnation to death for political offence? *A single* exile, founded upon political suspicions? *A single* exceptional tribunal instituted in Rome to judge political offences? *A single* newspaper suspended by order of the Government? *A single* decree directed to restrain the liberty of the press anterior to the siege? If so, point them out. Point out the laws originating in a system of terror; point out the ferocious bands of whom you speak; point out the victims of our rule—or resign yourselves to be branded as liars.

In one of our declarations we said—'The republican banner raised in Rome by the representatives of the people, does not represent the triumph of one fraction of citizens over another; it represents a common triumph, a victory gained by the many, accepted by an immense majority, of the principle of good over that of evil, of the common right over the arbitrary rule of the few, of the sacred equality which God has decreed to all over privilege and despotism. We cannot be republicans without being and proving ourselves better than the overthrown powers. . . We are not the government of a party, but the government of the nation. . . Neither intolerance nor weakness. The Republic is conciliating and energetic. *The Government of the Republic is strong, therefore fearless.*' In these lines were summed up the republican programme; nor was it ever violated by the men who ruled our republic, as yours has been, O ministers of France!

And we were strong, strong in the love of the good—the bad among us are but few; strong in the common consent of the citizens, and with a strength differing widely from yours, gentlemen. We had no necessity, in order to maintain ourselves in power, to place the capital in a state of siege, to dissolve the national guard, to fill the prisons, to exile (among others) the representatives of the people, to condemn to transportation hundreds of working men, and to surround ourselves by cannon and soldiers. Our capital was cheerful and happy under the weight of sacrifices which sudden changes must always impose upon a State; tranquil and serene when the presence of your army under its walls might have provoked the malcontents, if malcontents were to be found in Rome, to acts of rashness. Our national guards furnished upwards of seven thousand men for active service within the city and on the walls. Our prisons were all but empty of political offenders. Two or three individuals, strongly suspected of intercourse with your camp, two or three cardinals taken in the very act of conspiracy, and an official, Zamboni, guilty of desertion, were all who were under trial when M. de Corcelles visited the prisons. The five or six prisoners, Freddi, Alai, and the rest, found by him in the Castle of St. Angelo, were there by order of Pius IX., and for plots against his government. The men most averse to the Republic, a Mamiani, a Panteleoni, walked free through the streets of Rome. We reminded the people who mistrusted them, that the Republic, superior to the dethroned power, held opinions to be inviolable, unless manifested in dangerous acts; and the people, generous by nature, and from a consciousness of power, understood and respected this; nor was there any danger for such men, until we could no longer interpose, and the spectacle of your brute force irritated the public to reaction. Owing to the impossibility of keeping guard round the whole circuit of the city, several of our cannons often remained accessible to any one, and without a single soldier to guard them. And thus it happened, on the 16th of May, when our troops moved on the side of Villetri, against the army of the King of Naples—when, from 5 A. M. until midnight, the city remained without a single soldier, and intrusted solely to the people.

The French troops were at a little distance from the walls. The few guards left at the Palace gates were withdrawn, as they were wanted elsewhere. The affection of the people was our safeguard. Neither then, nor at any other time, amid the evils of an inevitable financial crisis, in the midst of physical privations inseparable from the semi-blockade which your forces extended around us, alike under your bombs as under the corruption which your agents and those from Gaeta endeavored to excite—not an attempt at insurrection was made by those whom M. Drouyn de Lhuys insolently calls the *honest ones*; not a single voice arose to say to us, *Descend.* Faction! terror! Ah, if you, Ministers of France, retained a shadow of shame, you would, on looking around and thinking of the fears and violence by which you rule in Paris, have studiously avoided those words, from the fear that others would retort there your own condemnation. And if the Assembly before which you spoke had not been irreparably corrupt and inaccessible to the love of truth—if the members who supported by their votes your foreign policy, instead of servilely following in the track of the power of the moment, whatever it may be, had had any system in their minds, however different from ours—or had been actuated by any faith—a hundred voices would have arisen to say to you—'Be silent, nor dishonor our aims by open falsehood. What! your first decree in Rome is to establish the council of war for political offences; on the 5th of July you dissolve the clubs, you forbid all meeting, you threaten exemplary punishments to protect persons having friendly relations with your troops; on the 6th you dissolve the civic guard; on the 7th you command the complete disarming of the citizens; on the 14th you suppress the journals; on the 18th you fulminate threats against any meeting composed of more than five persons; all these, your acts in the midst of a population which you declare to be favorable to you, and which come officially announced to us by your journal, are exactly those which we, upon your word, believed to have taken place as part of a system of terror in Rome under the Republican Government, and of which we do not discover a trace in their decrees; and yet you impudently persist in throwing out an accusation against them which must recoil upon yourselves, and you boast yourselves the restorers of liberty in peace and order.'

And this state of things still exists; exists two months after your triumph. The prisons are choked with men, for the most part guilty only of having obeyed the ruling power, and pointed out by spite to priestly vengeance. Upward of fifty priests are confined in the Castle of St. Angelo, guilty of having lent their services in our republican hospitals. Even the subaltern officials* in the police are not spared in Rome, and are ferociously condemned to the galleys for life. In Terni, in Bologna, in Ancona, in Rimini, young men guilty of having a musket in their possession have been shot. There is not, perhaps, in the Roman States, one family in five, one of whose members is not either an exile or a prisoner. The men of the self-called *moderate* party—the men whom, when entering Rome, you declared to be rightfully there, are through you in exile. Mamiani, Galeotti, Father Ventura, are exiles. Your work is one of destruction, equal to that accomplished by the monarchy in Spain, in 1823. Would that you had at least the brutal courage of the monarchy? But false interpreters of an idea which is not your own, secret enemies to the banner which you have publicly sworn to serve; conspirators rather than ministers—you are condemned to wrap yourselves round with hypocritical and premeditated falsehood. Falsehood in your fundamental assertions; falsehood in the particulars; falsehood in yourselves; falsehood in your agents; falsehood—I blush, in saying it, for France, which you have at length brought so low as to soil her traditionary honor—falsehood in the generals of your army. You have conquered by falsehood, and by falsehood you endeavor to justify yourselves. Gen. Oudinot lied when, in order to deceive the populations, and to smooth for himself the road to Rome, he vilely trafficked in our affection for France, by keeping the Italian tri-color, which he knew himself about to overthrow, entwined with the French flag at Civita Vecchia until the 15th July. He lied impudently by affirming in his proclamation that the greater part of the Roman army had fraternized with the French, when the whole staff of the army protested and resigned, when only 800 men (to the present time even they are dissolved) accepted the proposed conditions of service. He lied as a coward when, after having given his solemn promise in writing not to assault the city before *Monday*,† the 4th of June, he assaulted it on the night of the Sabbath. The envoy Lesseps lied, when, induced by a culpable weakness, partly redeemed by the hope of remedying the evil, he reassured us by continual promises of a conclusive treaty, and conjuring us not to attach importance to the movements of the French troops, dictated solely by the necessity of satisfying the soldiers, who were impatient of repose, while, in the meantime, you basely took advantage of our good faith to study unmolested our defences, to strengthen yourselves, and to occupy unexpectedly, during an armistice, the strategetical point of Monte Mario. M. de Corcelles lied when, in contradiction to the declaration of the Roman municipality, to that of the foreign consuls, and to the testimony of a whole city, he declared that Rome had never been bombarded. The bombs fell for many nights, and particularly from the 23d to the 24th, and from the 29th to the 30th, most frequently and injuriously upon the Corso, upon the Piazza di Spagno, upon the Babuino, upon the Colonna Palace, upon the Hospital of the Santo Spirito, upon that of the Pellegrini, and in other places. You lied, M. de Tocqueville, when, relying upon the ignorance of your majority, you boasted a solitary fact in history, of the choice of the point toward the Porta San Pancrazio, for assaulting the city, as if for the greater safety of the people and their habitations. Rome offers at the gate of San Paolo, and at the gate of San Giovvani, an open country, while the gate of San Pancrazio is surrounded by the people and their houses. The gate of San Pancrazio was chosen because from there a communication with Civita Vecchia could be kept up with less risk, and because while from the other points it would be necessary to descend to a battle with the people and their barricades, which you rightly feared, from that of San Pancrazio, the Janiculum dominating Rome offered the opportunity of conquering it, not by a war of men, but of bombs and cannons. You have all lied, from him who is first among you to the lowest of your agents, to us, to the Assembly, to France, and to Europe, when, from the first day of the nefarious undertaking to the last, you gave repeated promises of protection, of brotherhood, and of liberty, that you had already determined to betray.

JOSEPH MAZZINI.

* The National Guard numbered about 13,000 men, and in virtue of the organization anterior to the Republican Government, which excluded from active service the poorest class, it represented the middle class in Rome.

* Messrs. Degerando, Lerne, Astier, &c.

† Le Giornale di Roma.

† Capanna, Petralia.

† Leiter of the 1st of June to Gen. Roselli: 'Only—I defer the attack of the place until Monday morning, at least.'

☞ A monster Bear, weighing 480 pounds, was shot in Little Westkill, Delaware county, by Mr. Sherwood and party, on Saturday last. The bear had been caught in a trap, to which was attached a billet of wood of some sixty pounds weight—which the bear dragged about 30 miles, leaving a trail, which the hunters followed.

What is Money to a sight of the Queen?—At the last royal review, in Phœnix park, Dublin, a beggar, who stood in the first line of spectators with his child in his arms, refused to give place to a gentleman and his wife behind, though offered a handsome bribe for his berth, saying he would not lose sight of the Queen for all the half crowns the gentleman had.

☞ The British steamer Rifleman has brought into Buenos Ayres a slaver which had been captured off Cape Frio, with from 160 to 180 slaves on board. The crew ran the vessel ashore, and abandoned her, and a number of the negroes perished, there being only 123 saved. The slaver was set fire to and burned, and the rescued slaves have been conveyed in the Rifleman to Rio.

Emancipation.—Major Wood, late of Darien, Ga., at his death freed all his slaves, one hundred and fifty in number, and left $5,000 for the purpose of paying their expenses to Liberia.

☞ 'The prospect of heaven itself,' says an English paper, 'would have no charm for an American of the backwoods, if he thought there was any place farther west.'

Ages of Distinguished Generals.—Marshal Radetzki is 84, General Wrangle 70, Wellington 80, Soult 81, Paskewitch between 60 and 70.

☞ The number of Hungarian refugees in the Ottoman territory is 63, including several generals and superior officers.

☞ In 1681, Henry Dow was chosen Town Clerk of Hampton, New Hampshire, since which time the office has been in the family, and held by himself and descendants 129 years. He held it himself twenty-one years, to begin with.

☞ It is a remarkable fact, that the fish are dying by thousands upon the Sacramento and its tributaries. This is supposed to arise from the constant agitation and muddying of the waters by the gold diggers.

☞ A brickmaker at Peter Syke, near Carlisle, recently performed the feat of making 1,000 bricks in one hour, 100 in five minutes, and 36 in one minute.

☞ The siege of Venice has cost Austria 10,000 men, besides 15,000 sick, and ammunition, &c., to the amount of a million of florins. A second million will be requisite to repair the damage done to the city.

The Great Remedy of the Age.

DRS. CLARK & PORTER'S

ANTI-SCROFULOUS PANACEA,

A PREPARATION of extraordinary power, for the cure of Scrofulous Affections, Humors of every description, secondary Syphilis, ill-conditioned Ulcers, Fever or Mercurial Sores, chronic Liver and Kidney Diseases, Costiveness, spitting of Blood, Erysipelas, general Debility common to Females, Cold Feet, sluggish Circulation, &c. A *sure* and *certain* cure for Scrofulous Tumors on the neck, which it will never fail to remove, if taken according to directions, and faithfully persevered in.

The proprietors, after testing the virtues of this great medicine for upwards of three years in an extensive practice, and with unbounded success, now offer it to the public. In diseases of the skin arising from impure circulation, it is a *sovereign remedy*. It will assuredly eradicate any kind of humor from the system, if the directions are strictly adhered to. We challenge the world to produce its equal. Any one doubting its efficacy can satisfy themselves that it is a powerful instrumentality in the cure of disease, by consulting Dr. Clark's patients, in and about the city, who have taken it, and can testify to its healing powers. A great many have given it a trial, and we know not yet of a single person who has not derived either temporary or permanent benefit from its use.

The following was handed us, and we insert it for the consideration of others who may be similarly afflicted. The gentleman may be seen at his residence, 7 1-2 Elliot st.

BOSTON, April 27, 1849.

DRS. CLARK & PORTER:

GENTLEMEN—A little more than a year ago, I was taken with spitting blood, pain in my side and shoulder, and strong symptoms of consumption. I sought the advice of two eminent physicians of this city, who sounded my lungs, and pronounced them badly affected, or very weak. They advised me to go into the country, as a change of air might be beneficial to me. I did so, but with little hope of returning alive. While there, I was taken worse than ever. A physician was called to see me. He examined my lungs, and said he could give me no encouragement—said I might live till Fall, but probably no longer. My city physicians, previous to my leaving for the country, said I should never get well. But I was induced to try Dr. Clark, who gave me the Anti-Scrofulous Panacea, and after taking it a few months, my health was restored, and now I am able to attend to my business. I think your Panacea a medicine of great efficacy. I speak from experience. RALPH HOBART.

MORE TESTIMONY IN FAVOR OF DRS. CLARK & PORTER'S ANTI-SCROFULOUS PANACEA.

DRS. CLARK & PORTER:

GENTLEMEN—I have used your Panacea for Salt Rheum, not only on myself, but on others, and I have been surprised at its results. It is, in my opinion, the most efficient anti-humor medicine ever discovered. My humor has entirely disappeared on my hands, and I am now entirely well. MARTIN HASKINS, M. D.

BOSTON.

DRS. CLARK & PORTER:

GENTLEMEN—I have tested the power of your Panacea in the case of my little boy, whose face and arms have been entirely covered several months with a very bad humor, and I am happy to say it has effected a radical cure. In my opinion, it is the best medicine for humors ever got up. LAWSON HOUGHTON.

MESSRS. CLARK & PORTER:

GENTLEMEN—I would cheerfully recommend your Panacea as the most powerful medicine to my knowledge now before the public for the cure of scrofula and other humors. It has certainly effected an important cure in the case of my child, who has for some time been afflicted with a humor. I would advise all who have humors to make a trial of it. It needs no puffing; it recommends itself.

Hingham, June, 1849. DARIUS EDDY.

DRS. CLARK & PORTER:

GENTLEMEN,—I have used your Anti-Scrofulous Panacea for swellings on my boy's neck, and to my surprise, they have entirely disappeared. I consider the medicine infallible for scrofula and other humors, and think it should be circulated all over the world. NELSON RICE.

Boston, May, 1849.

DRS. CLARK & PORTER:

GENTLEMEN,—I have been afflicted for a number of months with a scrofulous humor on my face and neck. I tried several kinds of medicine, but received no benefit. A friend recommended your Panacea, which I tried, and by using two bottles, I am nearly cured. I would advise every one afflicted with humors to take it, for I think it a most excellent medicine.

A. D. PARMENTER.

Boston, May 23, 1849.

☞ Sold at No. 80 Carver street, Boston. Price $1 per bottle.

AGENTS.

SAMUEL E. KENDALL, Nos. 4 and 14, under the old State House, head of State street, Boston.

DAVID MEAD, Jr., corner Union and Silsbee sts, Lynn.

SYLVANUS DODGE, South Danvers.

H. A. POTTER, Danvers New Mil's.

DR. HENRY W. WILLIAMS

HAS removed to No. 10 ESSEX STREET, Boston, where he will continue to give particular attention to DISEASES OF THE EYE.

Medical and Surgical Office,

No 3 BROMFIELD STREET, BOSTON,

WHERE all diseases affecting the human system are treated on eclectic principles. All systems of medicine contain invaluable truths—but no one system comprehends all. We labor to accumulate from each and all those truths, which have borne the test of practical experiment. We refuse to be circumscribed, or limited, knowing that all that is divine is progressive. We therefore gather our information of disease and treatment from all sources, and use all the remedies which the Creator has provided for the cure of human infirmity.

Our treatment is chiefly confined to CHRONIC and OBSTINATE cases which have arrested all the ordinary remedies, as Lung, Liver, Stomach and Uterine